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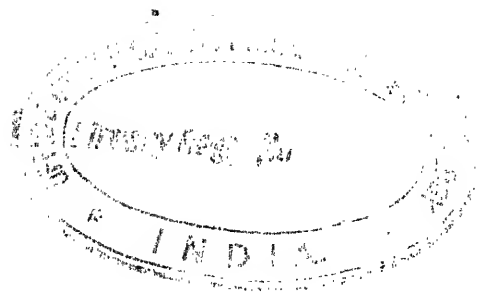
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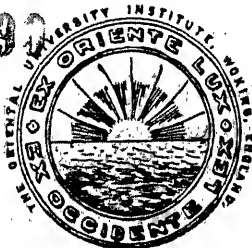
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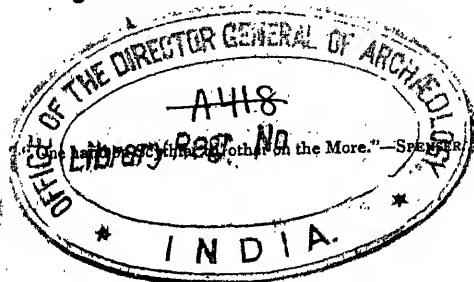
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*Asiatic Quarterly Review*,  
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JULY, 1907.

IMPERIAL PREFERENCE, OR COBDENISM,  
OR SWADESHI—WHICH POLICY IS BEST  
FOR INDIA?\*

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

IN India, as in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, we must have import-duties, if only for the sake of revenue. As to the principles which should guide us in imposing those import-duties, there are three rival policies, as noted at the head of this paper. I use the terms "Cobdenism" and "Swadeshi" in no depreciatory sense whatever, but simply because they are more clearly defined than the utterly indefinite "Free Trade" and "Protection"—terms which always require a formal interpretation clause. I am greatly in hopes that the perusal of this paper by your numerous readers will be both instructive and fruitful. But if we all spoke about Free Trade or Protection for India, just consider the hopeless confusion in which we should be landed! Take, for instance, my friend Sir Henry Cotton, the Liberal M.P. for Nottingham, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, formerly Liberal M.P. for Finsbury, and the 200 Liberal Members of Parliament who form their parliamentary committee—they warmly support Swadeshi and the social and religious boycott of Lancashire goods in Calcutta;

\*For discussion on this paper, see report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

but they call themselves Free Traders. Then again, take Mr. S. M. Mitra, whose paper on this subject has received the high honour of being endorsed by Sir James Mackay and the Cobden Club. He has most courageously denounced Swadeshi as "the silly sacrifice of good money on a bad cause"—and says of some of its leaders that "instead of cotton mills, they have started nonsense-mills for the manufacture of old women's twaddle, which is made to pass for at once politics and economics; instead of boycotting foreign goods, they have boycotted common sense"—so it is evident that Mr. Mitra belongs to a school of Free Traders somewhat different from that of Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. Dadabhai, and their 200 Liberal M.P.'s. And lastly take the advocates of Imperial Preference: we humbly point out that the adoption of our principles by the United Kingdom and India would at one blow establish absolute Free Trade (with insignificant and temporary exceptions due to revenue considerations) over an area including one-sixth of the human race, by far the richest and most populous part of the earth's surface, an area at least five times more populous than any other Free-Trade area that seems to be at all conceivable under any other system in any part of the world; and hence, if Free Trader means a person who desires the extension of Free Trade, we can hardly be denied some right to that title. So, it is quite clear that when all these three parties call themselves "Free Traders," they are using the term in various senses. But there is no ambiguity about the terms I have placed at the head of this paper.

Many attempts have been made—mainly in the Cobdenite interest—to claim Lord Curzon's dispatch of October 22, 1903, as setting up a fourth policy, that of aggressive Retaliation, unattended by its necessary complement of Reciprocity or Imperial Preference. It is true that the last four paragraphs of the dispatch, which sum up the conclusions of the Government of India, advocate extreme Retaliation, utterly repudiating

the absurd dogma (which Mr. Asquith on April 22 once more proclaims to be the shibboleth of what he calls Free Trade) that import-duties are only legitimate when imposed for purposes of revenue. These paragraphs show that the Retaliation policy, aided by the remarkable strength of the commercial position of India, has been extremely successful there, notably in saving from actual destruction the coffee industry of South India. It is also true that the references to Imperial Preference in the earlier paragraphs are doubtful, and some are quite discouraging. But those references are entirely governed by the statements in the second, ninth, and fifteenth paragraphs, that the dispatch was written, in obedience to the orders of Lord George Hamilton—himself at that time a disciple of the hybrid and illogical cult of "Free Food," now nearly extinct—hurriedly and in complete ignorance of the most important factors of the problem in regard to Preference. And, lastly, I admit that there is some foundation for the contention of the Cobdenites that the dispatch seems, sometimes, to speak with two voices; but I think not more than is often the case when a public document is inspired by one high authority, and drafted by another high authority, differing widely from the former in general political views. Of course I do not profess to speak with the slightest authority on this point; but personally I feel very confident that both Lord Curzon and the present Government of India, possessing the infinitely wider information now at their disposal, would be found very much in line and sympathy with the Governments of the other Colonies and Dependencies of the British Empire.

I spent the whole of last winter in Calcutta, occupying my leisure in the work of editing a great daily newspaper, mainly in the interest of Imperial Preference. I have, therefore, some considerable first-hand knowledge of the extent to which the great movement for Swadeshi—"My own country's products for me"—has grown to possess the Indian mind. In various forms it is preached

by every vernacular journal in India, I believe, without a single exception, and, also, by all the English papers conducted by writers of Indian birth. In its most extreme form—advocating complete Protection, as well as the social and religious boycott of all imported goods, British as well as foreign, that can be produced in India—it has been officially adopted by the National Indian Congress, under the presidency of my old friend Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, formerly Liberal Member for Finsbury, the Hon. Rash Behary Ghosh, C.I.E., and all the other leaders of Native India. I have no doubt there are some supporters of the National Indian Congress amongst your readers. Its ex-President is my old friend Sir Henry Cotton, M.P., who has with him, as an Indian Parliamentary Committee, I believe, some 200 Liberal Members of the House of Commons. They have a recognized organ in the Press of London, edited by an able member of the Eighty Club; and altogether, both in India and in London, the organization of the great Swadeshi movement—however much Imperialists may deprecate it as unfriendly to the British commercial community, or however sternly Mr. Mitra, as the solitary Indian Cobdenite, may denounce it as “old women’s twaddle”—is one that demands, and must receive, far more serious consideration than has yet been given to it by our manufacturers in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and other industrial centres of the United Kingdom.

The *Manchester Guardian* (April 13, 1907) comforts its readers with the assurance that the Indians who favour Swadeshi are only “certain Indian Nationalists, having in their minds some resentment for the maltreatment of the native manufacturer under early British Protectionism, and possibly misled by the ‘infant industry’ argument.” I might humbly remark, that the force of the “infant industry” argument is admitted everywhere throughout the civilized commercial world outside the realms of the Cobden Club. Even John Stuart Mill had something to say in its favour. But can anyone who reads the Indian papers follow the

easy optimism of the *Manchester Guardian*? As President of the National Indian Congress last Christmas, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji declared, in the presence of 20,000 delegates, "I am a Free Trader; I am a member and have been on the executive Committee of the Cobden Club for twenty years, and yet I say that Swadeshi is a forced necessity for India, in its unnatural economic muddle." "Swadeshi is a forced necessity for India!" That is the deliberate official pronouncement of the Indian National Congress! It was enforced by unanimous resolutions, and the movement has the powerful support of Sir Henry Cotton, Sir Charles Schwann, and the 200 Liberal M.P.'s who form their Parliamentary Committee. Is this nothing? The *Manchester Guardian*, in the same issue as that quoted above, coolly says: "Corroborative evidence of this view" (that there is no serious danger to Lancashire in the Swadeshi movement) "is afforded by the list of Liberal Free Trade Members of Parliament who are supporters of the Indian Congress. None of these politicians believe in the substance of Sir Roper Lethbridge's 'infinite danger,' nor is there any reason why they should." But the 200 Liberal M.P.'s who support the Indian Congress are honourable English gentlemen, who are quite incapable of saying in Calcutta that "Swadeshi is a forced necessity for India," and then saying in Manchester that there is no serious danger in Swadeshi. I venture to hope that some of these gentlemen will write to the *Manchester Guardian* on the subject. It is quite obvious that the statement which I have here quoted from its issue of April 13 is absolutely incompatible with the resolutions of the Indian National Congress of last Christmas, the demands of every Native Indian journal and association, and the pledges of the 200 Liberal members of the Parliamentary Committee, not only in the very object of the Committee, but also in the express words of their spokesman, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

I have said that the Swadeshi Movement is absolutely universal in India, from the great feudatory Princes



down to the humblest Congress delegate. His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda, who is one of the most honoured Vice-Presidents of this association, and one of the greatest and ablest of Indian Princes, in an important speech when opening the Ahmedabad Industrial Exhibition, used the following significant words :

“ It is true that Free Trade enables a country to procure at cheaper rates those articles that can be manufactured more conveniently in foreign lands ; but this cheapness is dearly bought by the loss of industrial status and the reduction of a whole people to a helpless proletariat. National defence against alien industrial inroads is more important than the cheapness of a few articles.”

Mr. Subramani Iyer, formerly editor of the *Hindu*, and one of the most prominent members of the National Congress, speaking of those Englishmen who asserted that India had prospered under Free Trade, declared “ she has not prospered, but can only prosper under a system of Protection.” The well-known Mr. Surendranath Banerjee declared, to the Congress Standing Committee, of Swadeshi that “ it is the rallying cry of all India.” Mr. Gokhale, Sir Phirozshah Mehta, and all the other Indian leaders say the same thing.

Now, please consider how the Hon. Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh, President of the Reception Committee of the Congress, when receiving Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, accounted for the far-reaching character of the movement. He said : “ What reasonable man can doubt that the real strength of the Swadeshi Movement is to be found in our national desire to nurse our own industries, which the Government of India, with their Free Trade principles, are unable to protect by building up a tariff wall ?”

And the same perfectly intelligible sentiment was even more strongly expressed by Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, C.I.E., on the occasion of the opening of the second Indian Industrial Conference at Calcutta on December 29, 1906. Mr. Dutt is one of the most distinguished of those Indian

gentlemen who have won places in the Indian Civil Service by open competition. After a long and meritorious service in Bengal—in which he rose to the eminent position of a Commissioner of Division—Mr. Dutt, in 1904, became, and still is, the Revenue Minister of His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda. He has been Lecturer in Indian History of University College, London. He is an acknowledged authority on Indian economics, and has written a valuable work on the economic history of his country. And at the Industrial Conference, after giving a most interesting summary of the industrial history of the past twelve months in India, Mr. Dutt continued his speech in these remarkable words :

“ There is a movement which is growing and spreading day by day over the whole continent of India, which the nation has begun earnestly, and which the nation will not let die. The Swadeshi Movement is an industrial revolution, more far-reaching in its effects than many political revolutions ; and history will record in future ages how the people of India, in the commencement of the twentieth century, effected their own industrial salvation. *Without any control over our own tariff* or financial arrangements . . . we have determined, simply by giving preference to our home manufactures, to revive the industrial activity of this vast country, and to improve the condition of our industrial population.”

I could multiply these quotations indefinitely to show how strongly every leader of Indian opinion, without a single exception, is attached to what the *Manchester Guardian* derides as the misleading “infant-industry” argument.

It is quite true that the *Manchester Guardian* is on safer ground when it asserts, as I have often asserted, that “there is not the remotest probability of anything of the kind ever being adopted in the Indian fiscal system,” so long as the House of Commons retains the control of that fiscal system entirely in its own hands. That

very ably-written newspaper, *India*, which is the London organ of the Indian National Congress, very pleasantly banters me for speaking of Indian Protection against Lancashire as "unthinkable." But is it not "unthinkable"? In the first place, it would be an act of the most unfriendly character directed against the whole British commercial community; and in that respect, and to that extent, it would be distinctly unpatriotic towards the Empire. In the second place, the industrial cataclysm that it would produce throughout England and Scotland, the general ruin and starvation that would be the immediate result in Lancashire and throughout our manufacturing districts, ought, I think, to make it "unthinkable" to every loyal subject of King Edward, whether Indian or European.

At the same time it seems to me idle and mischievous to ignore or ridicule these impossible aspirations of Sir Henry Cotton and the Indian National Congress, as Mr. S. M. Mitra and the Cobdenites do, merely because they are impossible in their present form. I have great respect for the ability and courage of Mr. Mitra in boldly coming forward as the only known living example of an Indian Cobdenite—*rara avis in terris*—a very Abdiel of that cult, now obsolete among educated Indians. I do not agree with the London organ of the National Congress, *India*, in regarding Mr. Mitra as one "whom certain Anglo-Indian officials are just now, for purposes of their own, running for a great deal more than he is worth." Nor do I agree with the extremely unfavourable view of his public labours that is expressed by the National Congress organs, and even by such very moderate and sensible journals as Mr. Raja Ram's *Wednesday Review* at Trichinopoly. On the contrary, I think it is highly creditable to him that he is not afraid to be, with Sir James Mackay's powerful support, "Athanasius contra mundum," and I would only venture very respectfully to suggest to him that he might perhaps make it more clear that all his fellow-countrymen throughout India are against him in this question, and to ask him to be more

tolerant towards Imperial Preferentialists like myself and Professor Girindra Kumar Sen of the University of Calcutta, who stand exactly midway between him and the rest of his fellow-countrymen. I respectfully suggest to him and to Sir James Mackay that it is no light thing to oppose a stolid *non possumus* to the arguments—up to a certain point almost unanswerable—of every known Indian statesman and economist. Those arguments are identical with the principles that govern the fiscal systems, not only of every foreign State, but also of every one of our self-governing Colonies. If those arguments were met, not with the curiously out-of-date arrogance of Cobdenism, but with the fair offers of Imperial Preference, of “give-and-take”—mutual fiscal concessions by the United Kingdom to India and India to the United Kingdom, absolute fiscal unity between them, and a slight preference to equalize the unfair advantages of foreign-protected rivals, and to guard India against their industrial inroads—I suggest to these two distinguished Cobdenites that the Indian Nationalists would almost certainly be as willing to endorse such friendly arrangements as our great self-governing Colonies are showing themselves to be.

It has been said that Indians, being thorough Protectionists, would turn up their noses at an Imperial Preference that would only protect them against the foreigner. But just consider a few of the moral and material advantages that India would obtain. Mr. Shackleton, the Labour Member for the Clitheroe division of Lancashire, has wisely pointed out that Free Trade in cotton-goods between the United Kingdom and India would mean the abolition of the hateful excise duty on the products of Indian cotton-mills, an inquisitorial tax that is particularly vexatious and liable to abuse and corruption; and I think nearly every Indian will agree with me that the abolition of that tax would be quite the most popular fiscal change that could be made in India. The *Hindoo Patriot* last October pointed out that the “law of surplusage” enabled the Germans to

undersell Indians in every bazaar in India in such necessary commodities as shawls, sugar, and numerous other goods, that could be more cheaply produced in India than in Germany but for that law. Professor Girindra Kumar Sen, my successor as Professor of Economics in the Presidency College of Calcutta, has just issued two admirable little books in Bengali, entitled respectively "*Bánijya*" and "*Dhanabigyán*," which many here will know to be "*The Economic Laws of Commerce*," and "*The Science of Wealth*," in which he clearly shows the economical advantages of Preferential trading with Great Britain.

Moreover, India, when conceding Preferential trading advantages to the self-governing Colonies, and receiving those advantages on a fair, equal, and honourable footing, may very properly expect and stipulate that due consideration in those Colonies shall be extended to British-Indian subjects as to all other subjects of King Edward. Mr. Mitra seems to me to be exceedingly ill-advised (if he really wishes the Colonies to take this view of the civic status of his fellow-countrymen, which I cannot doubt) when he adopts the hostile tone of his recent paper.

Moreover, such trustworthy economic authorities as Sir Charles Elliott, Sir Edward Buck, and Mr. Theodore Morison, have pointed out that the salvation of India from periodical famines can best be secured by measures encouraging the production of food-grains under irrigation, and therefore freed from the dangers of drought, and also, possibly (though not certainly, as Mr. Theodore Morison has ably demonstrated in his most valuable work on "*The Industrial Organization of an Indian Province*"), by measures encouraging other industries, to relieve the congested industry of agriculture. It is, I think, obvious that the necessary stimulus in both these directions can best be attained by Imperial Preference.

Then, again, I cannot help thinking that even Mr. Mitra and Sir James Mackay will appreciate the political advantage to be obtained by altogether doing away with the custom-

house barriers between India and the United Kingdom, and making the whole one fiscal unit, as we have already done for England, Scotland, and Ireland, and also for Bengal, Bombay, and Madras. It is admitted that every Viceroy, and every Secretary of State for India, in turn, has warned us of the political danger of the sempiternal fiscal war between Britain and India, chiefly over the import duties on cotton goods going into India. It would be interesting to know on what principle those who call themselves Free Traders oppose a policy which is to demolish a tariff-wall and establish Free Trade—as far as Free Trade can be established—between Britain and India.

And, lastly, I submit that Imperial Preference—clearly tending to gradually increase the proportion (which is now rapidly diminishing) of the volume of Indian exports to the United Kingdom and the Colonies, as compared with the volume of Indian exports to foreign Protected countries—is absolutely necessary for the stability of Indian Finance, and in order to keep the control of that stability in our own hands. As Mr. Morley has very properly pointed out, India is a debtor country, and therefore the maintenance and expansion of her export trade is absolutely vital to her finance. At present, the proportion of Indian exports taken by foreign Protected countries is a very large one—Mr. Morley says three-fourths of the whole—and it is admitted that that proportion is increasing every year. Now, that fact obviously means that at least three-fourths of the Indian export trade is absolutely at the mercy of those foreign Protected countries. By raising their tariffs to a sufficiently prohibitive rate, they could to-morrow actually destroy the bulk of the Indian export trade. I am not going to emulate the Cobdenites by affecting to believe that those countries, or any large number of them, are at all likely to be so foolish as to do this, merely to spite us or India. But the expansion of the German and other protected Colonial systems may make them more and more independent of India, and then up would go their tariffs and down would go our

trade. And, anyhow, how about the possibility of our being involved in a European war—say with Germany? In the present circumstances of Indian commerce, such a war would bring down almost the whole fabric of the Indian export trade, and with it the whole fabric of Indian finance! Whereas if a more considerable proportion of that trade went to the United Kingdom and the Colonies, our navy might be trusted to see that it was not diminished by a single cargo. I feel confident that so sincere and patriotic a statesman as Mr. Morley must admit that, however friendly these foreign Protected nations are, it is not well that the whole fabric of Indian finance should be at their mercy.

Now, I claim to have shown (1) that the demands of the Indians for extreme Swadeshi would, if conceded, mean the absolute ruin of most English and Scottish industries. I doubt whether, on balance, they would benefit India, and therefore ought not to be pressed by them or conceded by us. And I have shown (2) that Imperial Preference meets them more than half-way, benefiting India and the United Kingdom equally. But what have the Cobdenites to offer them? Simply the bland assurance that their aspirations are "old women's twaddle"! Mr. Mitra's sarcasms are forcible, but they do not seem to me to be business.

As to the arguments of Mr. Mitra and Sir James Mackay against Imperial Preference, I wish to speak of them freely, but with the utmost respect. I wish, therefore, at once to say that, whether I speak of the statements of Sir Edward Grey, or of Mr. Mitra, or of Sir James Mackay, I do so with the fullest belief and confidence in the honour and good faith of those distinguished public men. The utmost I shall endeavour to show is that they have been carried away by that eager credulity which is the pathetic characteristic of some schools of honest thought.

The serious arguments of Mr. Mitra's paper, fathered by Sir James Mackay, against Imperial Preference are two:

The first argument is developed at pp. 285-286 of the

report in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.\* Mr. Mitra draws a lurid picture of the enormous expansion of the German trade with India since the adoption of Protection by Germany. He shows that, during the last ten years alone, German imports from India have increased 50 per cent., and German exports to India have increased 100 per cent. He shows that German Protection has managed to suck in an enormous proportion of the cheap and good "raw material" for manufactures from India, to be worked up by German working men—though he does not quote the dictum of Mr. L. S. Amery, Fellow of All Souls, who proves in his "Fundamental Fallacies of Free Trade," p. 60, that this is, and always must be, the normal course of trade between a Protectionist State and a Free-Importing State. And, moreover, the methods—perfectly frank and above-board—by which Germany has sucked away from us this gigantic trade, are well known and perfectly familiar to every practical student of the subject; they are clearly and simply illustrated by one sentence from the Minute of the Indian Finance Minister, published at p. 15 of the Blue book, Cd. 1931, "Views of the Government of India on Preferential Tariffs." He says:

I may mention that Germany used to import large quantities of linseed oil from London, but the course of trade was artificially changed by the imposition of a [German] import duty on the oil, and now Germany imports the seed [from India] at a trifling rate of duty (probably under 2 per cent.), and exports the oil to London, which receives it free of duty.

This is the Minute on which, with its enclosures, Lord Curzon founded, very reasonably, his famous Retaliation Dispatch.

Now, the conclusions that Mr. Mitra draws, and Sir James Mackay sanctions, from this undeniable fact—the huge dimensions of this immense Indian trade that was nearly entirely British thirty years ago, and that is now

\* *April, 1907.*



largely German—are : (1) "The Empire, big as it is, is not big enough to consume all that India already produces of some commodities"; and (2) "when Great Britain puts a tariff on German goods, it is probable that Germany, through her tariff, will wreak vengeance on India, in order to bring pressure to bear on Great Britain."

Now for my reply :

I fully admit all Mr. Mitra's statements about the immense expansion of the German trade with India. It was fully admitted—for the first time in this controversy—by Mr. Morley in his admirable Budget speech of last year. Until then, the Cobdenites had been furious at any statements of the kind—see the letters of my friend Lord Avebury in the *Times*, in answer to my statements of this important fact. The Cobdenites were cocksure that, although our Protectionist rivals had beaten us out of protected markets on the Continent and in America, yet we Free Traders were certainly "holding our own"—these were Lord Avebury's oft-repeated words—in all neutral markets like India! The Cobdenites have now executed a complete right-about-turn, and tell us that the German trade is of such large dimensions, and of such infinite importance to India, that we dare not attempt even the very smallest imitation of the German method, lest the Germans should go off in a huff, and leave "poor India" (as Mr. Mitra often calls her) stranded without customers for her raw produce!

And as to Mr. Mitra's two conclusions, all I can say is—with the utmost respect for his and Sir James Mackay's sincere convictions—that they are absolutely incorrect. To the first conclusion I reply, that the United Kingdom alone—let alone the rest of the Empire—at this moment buys from the foreigner (in addition to what she buys from India) far more than the whole of what India now sells to the foreigner—and this is the case with regard to every one of India's staple exports, with one very insignificant exception. I proved this assertion in detail from the Blue books,

at pp. 34, 35, 36, 37 of my little book on "India and Imperial Preference." And to the second conclusion of Mr. Mitra and Sir James Mackay about the German trade, all I have to say is, that the Finance Minister of India has examined this very point with all the information at the disposal of the Government of India, and shows at great length—in Sections 14 to 26 of the above-quoted Minute—that Mr. Mitra's supposition is simply preposterous in every particular. Here is Sir Edward Law's general conclusion on the German trade with India, as given in Section 24 of his Minute :

The fact is that the German tariff has been carefully thought out, and that, to encourage home industries, the importation of such raw commodities as are exported from India is, in Germany's own interests, either free or subject to relatively light duties. The imposition of duties would, according to German ideas, as expounded in practice by their present tariff classification, be prejudicial to industries on which German prosperity depends. Indeed, I feel some confidence in saying that, far from having anything to fear, should Germany desire to adopt a tariff hostile to Indian interests, we may rest fairly assured that she could not, in her own interests, tax our exports. On the contrary, if we desired to deal a severe blow to German industrial prosperity, it seems open to us to do so by imposing export duties on certain commodities we ship to Germany, whilst allowing her industrial competitors to receive them free of such duties.

And what is true of India's absolute immunity from any commercial retaliation on the part of Germany, is shown by the Finance Minister to be equally true of the Indian trade with every other Protected country!

And now, finally, I come to the crowning argument of Mr. Mitra and Sir James Mackay, who endeavour to show

that, if the United Kingdom and India dare to remit to each other their mutual taxation, we may draw down on "poor India" the wrath of—Russia! To do full justice to this amazing farrago, I must quote Mr. Mitra's words at length:

Russia enhanced her already exorbitant duty on Indian tea as an answer to the passing of the Sugar Convention Bill in the Imperial Parliament.

Russian duty on Indian tea is simply enormous, amounting to nearly 275 per cent. *ad valorem*.

But, as Sir Edward Grey, on March 22, 1906, pointed out in the House of Commons, the extra duty "which the Russian Government have imposed on Indian tea is by way of retaliation for the prohibition of Russian sugar under the Sugar Convention."

The subject was again discussed in the House of Commons on April 10, 1906, when, in answer to Sir Seymour King's question, Sir Edward Grey was unable to state why Russia retaliated upon India, which was not a party to the Sugar Convention, and not upon the United Kingdom, which was a party to that Convention. Russia did not retaliate in any way against any of the other nations which were parties to the Sugar Convention. Poor India, being voiceless, was singled out for vicarious punishment for Great Britain's action!

A tariff discriminating against Russian petroleum may force Russia to lower her duty on Indian tea. But we know from experience that a tariff war in the long run ruins both the parties. Russia's tariff war with Germany, which lasted from August, 1893, to March, 1894, taught both countries a lesson not to be easily forgotten. Trade between the two countries reached the lowest point it had touched for some years. The termination of hostilities by an agreement resulted in a renewal of growth of their mutual trade. The trade of the two countries increased both absolutely and in proportion to that with other countries.

The exports of Russian food-stuffs to Germany and of German manufactures to Russia increased about 200 per cent. A tariff war never pays. India has probably lost more by Russia's retaliation on her tea than the West Indian sugar industry has gained. It would be interesting to calculate what the net result of the Sugar Convention is—loss or gain to the Empire taken as a whole.

As Mr. Winston Churchill observed in the House of Commons on July 29, 1903, in his speech on the Brussels Sugar Convention Bill, "every country ought to be governed from some central point of view where all classes and all interests are proportionately represented." Is it sound statesmanship to introduce a measure which, however indirectly, takes out from the pockets of one class of British subjects in order to fill the pockets of another class of British subjects?

The Sugar Convention has not benefited the West Indies effectually, but has made India suffer substantially. Poor India was apparently sacrificed in the supposed—not real—interests of the West Indies, with which Great Britain's trade in 1905 amounted to only £1,967,165 as against £47,373,677 with India!

Now, I venture to say, with all deference to Mr. Mitra and Sir James Mackay, that there are more foolish and demonstrable inaccuracies packed into this statement than I have ever seen in any statement of equal length. Let me take them seriatim:

1. The ridiculous Cobdenite *canard* about the Russian surtax on Indian and Ceylon tea in 1903 being designed to punish India "vicariously" for something she had not done—for the resuscitation of which Sir Edward Grey seems to be responsible—was fully exposed in the *Times* of November 23, 1903, thus:

Every one in Calcutta knows well the reason for the Russian tea duties. Months ago it was thus given

by the *Indian Mirror*, the leading native daily of Calcutta :

'*Indian Planting and Gardening* refers at some length to the extension of the area under tea in the Caucasus. Caucasian teas are said to possess a very agreeable aroma, and a flavour not unlike that of Ceylon and Indian teas; and some samples of tea furnished by the Imperial Domains (the Crown lands of the Tsar) have been valued by Russia as being worth 4 r. to 5 r. 4 k. (8s. to 10s. 6d.) per pound.'

Why should the Tsar admit Indian and Ceylon teas, of precisely the same quality and flavour, at a duty that would enable them to crush this most lucrative industry ?

2. As a matter of fact—and I do not suppose that either of my Cobdenite friends would question it—it is absolutely notorious that Russian trade is more at the mercy of the Indian tariff than even the German, or any other. For all the Indian imports into Russia are comparatively insignificant in volume, needed for Russian industries, and already taxed up to the hilt; while practically the sole export from Russia to India is the large export of petroleum (averaging nearly two millions sterling per annum in value), which competes only by its cheapness with the American oil, and both might very well be ousted by our own products in Burma and Assam, where the industry has been crippled (like most other Indian industries) by the protected foreign competition.

This is what the Finance Minister says in his Minute on the Russian trade :

Clearly we have nothing to fear from a tariff war with Russia, and, on the contrary, it would seem certain that if, acting on fair-trade principles, we were to threaten the imposition of an increased duty on Russian petroleum, the Russians would be only too ready to offer to reduce their present exorbitant duties

on tea, and thereby, perhaps, afford most useful assistance to our tea industry.

But, naturally enough, the simple, practical, common-sense recommendations of the Indian Finance Minister do not commend themselves to a *doctrinaire* Government that is determined to regulate modern British commerce and industry according to the rules laid down by Mr. Cobden seventy years ago.

3. We have not dared in any effective way, as Sir Edward Grey admitted, to ask Russia to reduce those exorbitant duties. But it has not been through fear of what Russia could do—it has simply been through fear of the Cobden Club!

4. But even with those exorbitant duties, and with the additional tax imposed on Indian and Ceylon tea to protect the Tsar's "nascent industry" in the Imperial domains—this is the cream of the joke, after the wails of Mr. Mitra and Sir James Mackay over "poor India," who "has probably lost more by Russia's retaliation on her tea than the West Indian sugar industry has gained!"—here are the *actual* figures of the Russian import of Indian tea for one year before the Sugar Convention and four years since :

In 1901-02	...	...	1,624,580 lbs.
„ 1902-03	...	...	3,967,836 „
„ 1903-04	...	...	4,546,742 „
„ 1904-05	...	...	9,331,887 „
„ 1905-06	...	...	9,988,488 „

I have fortunately got these astounding figures—astounding when placed by the side of Mr. Mitra's and Sir James Mackay's wails, though their general gist is familiar to all tea-men—from Blue book, Cd. 3356, 1907, published a week or two ago. When Mr. Mitra and Sir James Mackay have satisfied themselves of the accuracy of these figures, I would venture very respectfully to ask them whether they are justified in allowing the

Cobden Club to continue to circulate, with the authority of their honoured names, such a gross terminological inexactitude as that quoted above? For in their Cobden Club pamphlet this grotesque figment bulks so large—on the excuse that “one fact is a better guide than fifty speculations,” these are the very words of Mr. Mitra in the pamphlet—that it is treated therein as in itself sufficient to crush all the arguments in favour of Imperial Preference.

5. And as to the attack on the West Indies by Mr. Mitra and Sir James Mackay in the above quotation—as if the West Indies were mainly answerable for the Sugar Convention—can it be possible that these distinguished authorities are unaware that India produces about ten times as much raw sugar as the whole of the West Indies? Are they unaware that the Government of India and Lord George Hamilton proved in 1899 that an immense acreage of sugar-cane plantations had been going out of cultivation in India every year, to the injury and ruin of multitudes of poor rayats, simply owing to the Continental bounties? Are they unaware that the cost of production of cane-sugar in India is far less than that of beet-sugar on the Continent, and that it was only the competition of Protectionist tariffs (which unhappily still exists) and of Protectionist bounties that was rapidly killing the sugar industry of India? Are they unaware that, while in 1899 this competition was playing havoc with the rayats in nearly every zila of India and on every plantation in Mauritius, it was only so recently as 1877-1878 that the Finance Minister said of sugar that “it is one of the most important agricultural staples of those provinces, and it is important not only to the agriculturists and manufacturers and consumers, but directly to the Government, which looks greatly to sugar cultivation for its irrigation revenue”? Are they unaware that it was the initiative of the Government of India—pressed thereto by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce (of which Sir James Mackay’s firm were leading members, and of which Sir James Mackay himself had

recently been president!) and all the other industrial organizations in the country, with such honoured leaders (representing the whole of the native population of India) as the Hon. Mr. Anandu Charlu, the Hon. Mr. Chitnavis, and others—that induced the Protectionist countries of Europe seriously to take up the question of the abolition of bounties? I assert—and I venture very respectfully to doubt whether Sir James Mackay will contradict me—that, whatever may be the opinion about the Sugar Bounties held in other countries, in India there was an absolutely unanimous chorus of condemnation from every living soul, native and European alike.

I will not apologize to your readers for the detail with which I have examined the great central argument of Mr. Mitra and Sir James Mackay, for I wish to acknowledge the great sincerity with which those two gentlemen urge their conclusions, even though speaking for themselves only, and with practically no backing whatever from educated Indians.

I venture to say that the practical common-sense conclusion of the whole matter, whether viewed from the political or from the economical side, is this :

1. Cobdenism, by insisting on the maintenance of custom-house barriers between the United Kingdom and India, teaches each nation to look on the other as foreigners. By giving practically free entrance to the goods of the real foreigners, who are all Protectionists, it strangles unprotected native industries, while inflicting grievous wrong on unprotected British industries. And while in this way it injures the masses of the Indian peoples, it flouts and insults the whole of the educated classes of India by shouting the obsolete shibboleths of Cobdenism, and dubbing the economic views unanimously held by them as “old women’s twaddle”; although the educated classes in India are at least as well qualified as the same classes in this country to form an intelligent



opinion on such subjects, and they have the immense advantage of familiarity with the local circumstances. It ought, therefore, to be impossible for us to maintain Cobdenism as the fiscal policy of India.

2. Swadeshi, though more in unison with the wishes of the Indian peoples, shares with Cobdenism the political disadvantage of raising custom-house barriers between the United Kingdom and India, and forcing the two nations to regard and treat each other as foreigners. It would undoubtedly ruin the manufactures of Lancashire and of Great Britain generally. It is therefore practically impossible; and as the welfare of India and Great Britain are, in the long run, absolutely interdependent, I think it is rightly impossible.

3. Imperial Preference will be the outward and visible sign of the solidarity of the united British and Indian peoples. It will raise the status of the Indian Empire. Without injuring foreign trade, it will vastly stimulate inter-Imperial commerce. Without injuring one side or the other, while securing the future of our British manufacturing industries, it will vastly improve the prospects of innumerable native industries in every part of India, at once increasing cultivation and employment, and giving "nascent industries" the fair chance they so urgently need. By stimulating irrigation it will afford the best insurance against Indian famines. And lastly—perhaps the most important consideration of all—by ensuring a vast and continuously progressive export trade to countries within the Empire, which will never be liable to be crushed by prohibitive tariffs or by foreign wars, it will ensure the stability of Indian finance, and rescue it from its present obvious dependence on the mercy of the foreigner. Surely these considerations are amply sufficient to obtain for Imperial Preference the enthusiastic support of an Association founded "for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally."

## THE "REPRESENTATION" OF INDIA AT THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

BY ARNOLD WARD.

INDIA has reason to be greatly dissatisfied with her treatment at the Imperial Conference. At former Conferences—with the exception, I think, of the 1887 Conference—she was not represented at all; but the limitation of the scope of those Conferences was preferable to the method of 1907, by which India was indeed "represented," but only by a nominee of the Secretary of State, who only addressed the Conference on one of the subjects under discussion, who did so apparently without previous consultation with the Government of India, and whose right to speak as the "representative of India" was expressly challenged and repudiated by the representatives of the self-governing Colonies.

In these circumstances the speech of Sir James Mackay, reported on pp. 297-304 of the "Minutes of Proceedings of the Colonial Conference, 1907," cannot be treated as anything else than an expression of opinion by an individual whose views happened to be acceptable to the British Government, which might with equal propriety have invited Sir Ernest Cassel to address the Conference as the representative of Egypt, or Mr. Hall Caine as the representative of the Isle of Man. There is nothing to show that Sir James Mackay's views are shared either by the Viceroy in Council, or by the India Council in London, or by any single member of either of those bodies, and we cannot too severely condemn the action of the British Cabinet, for instructing an official in London to address the Conference from the Indian point of view, on the most momentous subject with which the Conference was asked to deal, without making the slightest attempt to ascertain and lay before the members the views either of the Government of India or of any Indian representative bodies of any description.

In these circumstances, it is not surprising that the contents of Sir James Mackay's speech should throw little fresh light on any aspect of the problem. The respective advantages obtainable by India and the United Kingdom under a scheme of Preference are discussed in a manner which seems to show that Sir James Mackay has not made a very careful study of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals. Sir James is quite correct in pointing out that India and Ceylon have more to gain from a reduction in the tea duty than from a mere discrimination in their favour against China; but it appears to have escaped his notice that such a reduction, to a very substantial amount, is expressly provided for in Mr. Chamberlain's scheme, that it has been and is being urged upon a thousand platforms in this country as an essential feature of the programme of Tariff Reform, and that it is a measure quite hopeless of realization under the bankrupt Budgets of Cobdenism, and only rendered possible by the broadening of the basis of taxation in the United Kingdom. Very similar considerations apply to the case of the tobacco duty, the reduction of which is regularly advocated by Tariff Reformers. There is no reason why a Preference to Indian tobacco should not be granted in the form of the introduction of an *ad valorem* duty, as well as by way of discrimination, and if these methods are adopted Sir James Mackay will be driven on his own argument to admit that India has the opportunity of gaining very substantial advantages under a Preferential scheme. As for the case of wheat, Sir James's statement that a Preference on this article would give only a trifling gain to India is curiously at variance with the statements of Australian and Canadian statesmen, who have repeatedly and with emphasis pointed out the benefit which their colonies would derive from a British Preference, with the knowledge that the principal article on which such a Preference could operate would be wheat. Mr. Deakin, for instance, says on p. 249 of the "Minutes of Proceedings":

"The imports of wheat and flour into the United

Kingdom amount to  $41\frac{1}{4}$  millions sterling annually, and of this quantity Australia sends only £4,300,000. Given a certain market, such as would be open to us if Great Britain granted a slight Preference on wheat, we might easily expand our imports to fourfold their present average, and send away 70,000,000 bushels every year."

The Indian export of wheat alone to the United Kingdom shows an average of over £6,000,000 for the last three years for which the figures are available. It seems difficult to understand why advantages, which in the case of Australia are "too obvious to require demonstration" (Mr. Deakin), should amount in the case of India to "practically nothing" (Sir James Mackay). It is difficult to understand, if expansion is easy in the case of the Australian wheat trade, why it should not be equally easy in the case of India, with her schemes of irrigation and colonization, for which Preference would supply the most effective guarantee. It is matter for great regret that the interest of the Indian agriculturist in this matter, admirably expounded as it has been by Sir Charles Elliott, Sir Roper Lethbridge, and Sir Edward Buck, should have received such unsympathetic treatment at the Conference at the hands of Sir James Mackay.

Turning now to the subject of the Indian tariff, Sir James appears to me to fail completely to realize that discrimination in India must operate in favour not only of the British, but also of the Indian manufacturer. I do not, indeed, think that the protection of Indian industries against Great Britain is a proposal within the range of practical politics. Such a proposal might be desirable in itself in the interests of India, but it is not likely that it would be tolerated by the electors of the United Kingdom, who, having regard to the general relations between the two countries, and in particular to the millions of capital which they have invested in British Indian trade under the existing system, would be acting well within their rights in declining to concede fiscal independence to non-self-governing

portions of the British Empire. Subject, however, to this condition, the advantages of raising the tariff wall against the foreigner would be shared equally between the British and the Indian manufacturing centres. You cannot give a Preference to Lancashire without by the same act giving a Preference to Bombay. It is erroneous, therefore, for Sir James Mackay to refer to the suggested alterations in the Indian tariff as implying a "giving" by India as distinguished from a "receiving." It is obvious that the customs receipts of the Government of India must be maintained at their present level for purposes of revenue, and therefore that reductions of tariff on British imports must be set off by substantial enhancements in the case of foreign goods. When this fact has been clearly realized, we may expect to see the Indian manufacturing interests come forward with a strong demand in favour of a policy which, although quite different from all-round Protection, does promise them a definite advantage against those non-British imports which are not their least formidable rivals in the Indian markets of to-day. Nor should the fact be lost sight of that any encouragement to Indian manufacturers is of the utmost value to the Indian ryot, as tending to reduce the pressure on the land, and to increase the pitifully small proportion of the population at present earning wages in manufacturing pursuits.

It is with some impatience that we see Sir James Mackay advocating the rejection by India of these solid and tangible advantages on the ground of certain vague and nebulous apprehensions of injury to Indian commerce from the retaliatory actions of foreign Powers. The exceptionally strong position occupied by India in this quarter has often been pointed out, and the fact cannot be too strongly insisted on that retaliation against India would violate the fundamental principle of foreign tariffs—namely, the free importation of raw materials for the purpose of securing cheap production. This principle is but little affected by the question whether or no India enjoys the effective monopoly of the

supply of any particular article. It would have been a better buttress to his argument if Sir James Mackay, instead of indulging in mere conjecture, had quoted historical instances of the penalization of raw materials from former tariff wars. He was not able to do so, but; on the other hand, he was obliged to admit that Indian exports other than raw materials would be equally exposed to retaliation, whether or no India did eventually enter the Preferential circle. The case quoted and discussed at the Conference was a case of utter failure by a foreign country to effect its retaliatory object, and having regard to the enormous importance of the British and Indian markets to foreign manufacturers, it may safely be assumed that foreign governments will be exceedingly reluctant to engage in hostilities which might result in the closing of commercial outlets vital to the prosperity of their working classes.

It is an astonishing thing that Sir James Mackay should have expended so much eloquence in prophesying imaginary dangers arising from the participation of India in Imperial Preference, and yet should have completely failed to notice the much more serious and certain risks to Indian commerce involved in her exclusion from the scheme. The adoption of a system of Preference between the Mother Country and the Colonies is only a matter of time; and the question, What would be the position of India outside the circle? is equally urgent with the problem of her position as an incorporated member. Few will seriously contend that India would be entitled to participate except upon a reciprocal basis. It follows that if she does not concede reciprocity, she will of necessity be subjected to the ordinary general tariff in British and colonial ports. Indian wheat will pay 2s. or 3s. a quarter, Indian tea will pay more than Ceylon tea, Indian manufactures will pay 10 per cent., to enter the ports of the United Kingdom. It is almost inconceivable that Sir James Mackay and his friends should willingly allow India to run the risk of being placed at this serious disadvantage as compared with recipro-

cating British colonies and possessions, and accordingly we find at the close of Sir James Mackay's speech the curious suggestion that India should be admitted to preference without reciprocity—a suggestion not accepted by any of the colonial representatives, and emphatically repudiated in the speech of Dr. Smartt ("Minutes of Proceedings," p. 345). Such a suggestion seems wholly outside the range of practical politics. There are only two alternatives, reciprocity or exclusion; and when this is clearly understood in India, I believe that the Government and all classes of the community will express themselves without hesitation in favour of whole-hearted co-operation with the rest of the Empire.

# THE VISIT TO INDIA OF THE AMIR HABI- BULLAH KHAN, THE FOURTH AMIR OF THE BĀRAKZAI DYNASTY.

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. C. YATE.

BETWEEN the close of the fourth century B.C., when Alexander led an army to the Indus, and thence to the shores of the Indian Ocean, and the beginning of the eleventh century A.D., when Mahmūd of Ghazni sought to found Islam on the ruins of Brahminism, India enjoyed comparative, if not complete, immunity from invasion. History shows that the Indian Peninsula, as one of the chief Asiatic centres of wealth, intellectual culture, and religious activity, has from the earliest times acted as a loadstone to the passions and ambitions of the rulers and peoples whose homes have lain among the steppes of Central Asia and the mountains of Afghanistan. Many and varied have been the motives which have drawn them towards the Indus and beyond it, lust of loot predominating. In Mahmūd of Ghazni this lust blended with religious fanaticism; in Alexander, Timur, and Baber with love of conquest; in Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali it was its own pure and undiluted self.

With the dawn of the nineteenth century the potentates of the Middle East began to regard India less as a mine of wealth to be exploited at the point of the sword than as a tower of strength beneath the shadow of which they might seek and find protection. The reputed issue of the conference of Napoleon and Alexander at Tilsit, and the growth and consolidation of the British power from the Bay of Bengal to the Sutlej, and from the Coromandel Coast to the delta of the Indus, combined to create this new situation. The aims and ambitions of the despots of France and Russia spread alarm not only at the Courts of Teheran and Kabul, but also in the Council-House of Calcutta.



Hence that unprofitable venture, the Afghan War of 1838-1842. Yet it first brought to India as a visitor, not as a conqueror, a monarch of Afghanistan. The first, and perhaps the greatest, of the Bārakzai Amirs—the dynasty that rose on the ruins of that founded by Ahmed Shah Abdali—came to India in 1840 as a prisoner, and after being lionized there for two years, and shown all that our prowess, power, wealth, and civilization had to offer, was set free at the end of 1842 to return to Kabul, and reascend the throne from which the Government of India had, by an error of judgment, sought to remove him in 1838. The hope of recovering Peshāwar in 1848 tempted this Amir to send 4,000 Afghan cavalry to help our Sikh enemies, but 250 sabres of the Sind Irregular Horse drove them from the field with heavy loss. Balaclava we all know. The charge of the Sind Horse at the Battle of Gujrat is not unworthy of being ranked beside it. If in 1857 the Mutiny put temptation once more in Amir Dost Mahommed Khan's way, the firm attitude of Herbert Edwardes, Sydney Cotton, and John Nicholson at Peshāwar counselled him not to yield to its allurements.

On March 27, 1869, the Earl of Mayo received in durbar at Ambāla the Amir Sher Ali Khan, who, impelled by anxiety to know clearly the intentions of the British Government, had, at some risk to the security of his own throne, left Kabul in order to have a personal interview with the Viceroy. His very self-sacrifice entitled him to a cordial reception. The unhappy issue of that meeting is well known. It is recorded in the history of the Second Afghan War.

Sixteen years later, in March, 1885, the Amir Abdurrahman Khan, whom five years previously the Government of India had invited to accept the throne of Kabul, met the Earl of Dufferin at Rawal Pindi. Into the midst of that scene of peaceful conference, military pageant, and viceregal hospitality the Czar's representative at Merv dropped a bomb-shell. For the sake of a few thousand square miles

of steppe in the heart of Central Asia the two greatest empires of the day armed for war. But the ruler of the Afghan highlands, erst a refugee among the Russians, and now the protégé of the British, held the balance between the two colossi. He willed peace, and there was peace. He would not have Panjdeh made a *casus belli*. Diplomacy accordingly demarcated a frontier from Zulfikar to the Oxus, and England, Russia, and Afghanistan were alike satisfied, or professed so to be. The Amir Abdurrahman Khan aspired to a higher destiny than that of the earthenware pot between the iron vessels, and before his death he had made some progress towards achieving his aim. Independence was his motto, coupled with the maintenance of his alliance with Great Britain. Loyalty to that alliance was one of the most valuable bequests that he left to his heir and to his nation, and that loyalty has borne fruit in the visit which the Amir Habibullah Khan has just paid to India, and in the unexampled success which has attended it, a marked contrast to the shadow of disappointment which was all that was left behind by Sardar Nasrullah Khan when he came to England a decade or more ago. This tour of sixty-four days in India is the first occurrence, since Habibullah's accession to the throne, which has tended to strengthen the faith of the British nation in his loyalty to the alliance which was established in 1880 between his father and the Government of India, and renewed in 1893 by the Durand, and in 1905 by the Dane Mission. When Sir Louis Dane returned to India, it was very evident, both from questions asked in Parliament and from the tone of the Press, that the opinion prevailed that the Amir had accorded to the Mission but a lukewarm welcome, and shown himself indisposed to meet the views and wishes of his British allies. Again, my arrest and detention in Baldak Fort for nineteen days in April, 1903, was generally, I found, regarded by my fellow-countrymen as a proof that the Amir had no friendly feeling towards us. To that impression I from the first gave an emphatic negative. I

was well acquainted with the spirit of the Afghan official who controlled affairs on the Indo-Afghan border from the Kadanai River to Shorawak. I had for some years been in a position to watch events in that quarter, and during the nineteen days which I spent at Baldak I had a good opportunity of judging who was responsible for my detention. I came to the conclusion then, and have not since altered my opinion, that the chief responsibility rested with Abu Bakr Khan, the "Hākīm" or civil officer of the district.\* I know that his subordinates, including the officer in command of the troops, urged him to allow me to return at once to Chaman, and that he refused. I know that the Governor of Kandahar, when my arrest was reported, wrote and told him that he should not have detained me, but that, as he had done so, the Amir's orders must be taken. This reply, however, throws some share of the responsibility on the Governor of Kandahar; for though he blamed his subordinate for detaining me, he would not himself order my release. I have always thought it possible that the news of the approaching visit of the Commander-in-Chief in India to Chaman had put the Afghans at Baldak on the qui vive. His Excellency reached Chaman about thirty-six hours after I was arrested. Often as, in the course of my rides, I had crossed the border—an imaginary line denoted by pillars set a mile apart—I had never found Afghan troops lying in wait for me. On one occasion, it is true, two shots were fired at me by miscreants who bolted as soon as they fired. As I always rode unarmed, I was unable to pursue them. Be the motive of my arrest what it may, the decision to detain me rests with the "Hākīm," Abu Bakr Khan, Mahommedzai. It is true that the Amir, in the correspondence which ensued with the Government

\* Outrages along this border had been frequent for some years before 1903, and the Government of India had adopted no adequate measures to check them. Colonel Gaisford once took the law into his own hands with most excellent effect, but his vigorous action resulted in his removal from the frontier. The Government of India took some credit to themselves for this, but most Englishmen in their hearts deplored it.

of India, supported the action of his officials, but for that, I think, we can only respect him. Nothing is more painful than to see a loyal official thrown over by his Government and fellow-countrymen. We have had a regrettable instance recently in one of our own Crown Colonies, when our Secretary of State for War, the mayor of the principal port in the Colony, and a prominent Manx novelist all called into play the telegraph cable in order to apologize to the citizens of the United States for the action of one who for years had served the country faithfully as a Colonial official and Governor. It was reserved for His Majesty King Edward VII. to adjust the balance in favour of the Governor by commending him in his speech from the throne. But the Governor resigned, and refused to withdraw his resignation.

Abu Bakr Khan, Mahommedzai,\* was removed from his post at Baldak, but I have a shrewd suspicion that he was not sacrificed. After all, the name of "New Chaman" was anathema to the late Amir Abdurrahman Khan, ever since our troops occupied it without his permission and sore against his will twenty years ago. What the Amir felt the Afghan nation felt. The Amir forbade any caravan to unload at the Chaman station, and the Amir's subjects lost no opportunity of making themselves unpleasant. Every outlaw from our territory was welcomed and harboured across the border, and it was for pursuing and killing one of these that that fine frontier political officer, Colonel Gaisford, was temporarily removed to a Central Indian Political Agency. It were better for him and his had he stayed there. For in 1898, when on the eve of retiring on his pension, he fell a victim to the knife of a Pathan assassin. Long as is the roll of victims of frontier fanaticism, Colonel Gaisford's death cannot but be felt to be one of the hardest and saddest cases.

Until the Amir Habibullah came to visit India in the

\* The Amir's family belongs to the Mahommedzai section of the Bārakzais.

early part of this year, his good faith, loyalty, power, and ability were, so to speak, a negative quantity. We knew nothing about him. We regarded him as an ally of doubtful fidelity, as a ruler the security of whose throne was imperilled by domestic intrigue, as a monarch who, though the recipient of the crown, had inherited none of the force of character and the genius for government which had distinguished his very able father. And now that the Amir has returned to Kabul, what is the impression which he has left behind? It is one that will not lightly be effaced. We have seen that he is keen and energetic and practical, endowed with intelligent powers of observation, animated by strong religious convictions, and in all things an Afghan of the Afghans. He has made his mark. I could point to very distinguished visitors to India whose advent has not wrought one-tenth part of the effect on the minds and intellects of cultivated Europeans and natives that Habibullah Khan has produced. His address to the professors and students of the Aligarh College was instinct with right-mindedness, sincerity, and eloquence. When the British nation and the British Parliament had shown that they could not agree upon the place that should be given to the Christian religion in their national schools, the Amir of Afghanistan, a man whom most British citizens regard as a barbarian and a heathen, stood forth and told the Mohammedan world that religion must be the basis of all education; that it should be so, and was so, at Aligarh; and that he meant it to be so in the college which he was founding at Kabul for the instruction of the Afghan youth in Western learning. And yet there are thousands, perhaps millions, of Christians who maintain that the Mohammedan is doomed to eternal damnation! I for one beg to negative that proposition.\*

\* The Amir's words at Aligarh were: "Let anyone who nevertheless still honestly thinks that religion and education are mutually antagonistic, and that religion must decline where education flourishes, come to this College as I have come, and see for himself as I have seen what education is doing for the religious beliefs of the rising generation. This leads me

The Amir Habibullah Khan goes back to his country, having seen and learnt much of our naval and military power, of our manufactures and industries, of our customs and institutions, and of our methods and resources. He must have realized that the industrial and productive development of Afghanistan is as yet almost in its infancy. He must see that railways and telegraphs, to the construction of which in Afghanistan he and his father have so far resolutely opposed themselves, cannot but contribute to the prosperity of his country. There must be mineral wealth in Afghanistan. Some twenty years ago the late Dr. Griesbach went to Kabul to aid the Amir in exploiting this source of profit; but the facilities given to him were few. His experiences during two years or more of residence at the Court and in the country of the Amir were doubtless most interesting; but the output in minerals appears to have been *une quantité négligeable*.

I have understood that the privilege of editing the earlier

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to another question. There is, I am told, a violent prejudice among many Indian Mohammedans against that particular kind of education which we call European education. What folly is this. Listen to me. I stand here as the advocate of Western learning. So far from thinking it an evil, I have founded in Afghanistan a College called the Habibia College, after my own name, where European education is to be given as far as possible on European lines. What I do insist on, however, is that religious education should come first. Religious education is the foundation on which all other forms of education must rest. If you cut away the foundations the superstructure will surely topple over. I say to you, therefore, be ever careful to make the religious training of the students your first and foremost care. This all-essential condition I have imposed upon my College in Afghanistan, and I hope it will ever be strictly maintained there. But subject to this condition I say again that I am a sincere friend and well-wisher of Western education." (Loud applause, during which the interpreter, who had previously seen the Amir raise a hand for silence now did likewise, but the Amir said, "No; let them applaud that as much as they like.") "And now, having spoken in praise of this College, I should like to do something practical to assist it. But the educational claims of my own subjects are heavy, and the educational grants in Afghanistan are small. However, I have determined to endow this College with a income of Rs. 6,000 per annum in perpetuity. (Loud and prolonged applause.) In addition, I make an immediate cash present to the College of Rs. 20,000." (Renewed enthusiastic applause.)

part (up to 1886) of the Amir's autobiography might have been accorded to Dr. Griesbach, had not the Government of India found it inconvenient to have that valuable contribution to history published by one of its own officials. It was also, I have heard, Dr. Griesbach's privilege to be standing close to the royal chair at a review at Mazar-i-Sharif in December, 1888, when a disloyal soldier shot at, and narrowly missed, the Amir. The Government of India has now deputed another official of the Geological Survey of India to accompany Habibullah Khan to Kabul. We will hope that, while he is spared Dr. Griesbach's perilous adventures, he may be more successful in developing the mineral industries of Afghanistan.

The interests of the British Empire demand that Afghanistan, like Persia and Mesopotamia, should not pass into the hands of rival European Powers. Our policy in Afghanistan during the last quarter of a century, coupled with the genius of its rulers, has so strengthened that country, that it is no longer likely to become the plaything and prey of foreign intrigue. Persia with a Constitution may follow in the footsteps of Afghanistan, and the twain, like Belgium, Holland, Denmark, and Switzerland, find the guarantee of their security and independence in the unwritten law of the Balance of Power. The future of Turkish Arabia is in the dark. German ambition aims at transforming it into a sphere of German activity, with a railway controlled and worked by Germans, and a terminus at or near Koweit. British prescriptive rights are opposed to this. We have yet to learn whether German pushfulness or British right will prevail. In 1892 Lord Curzon, of Kedleston, wrote thus ("Persia," vol. ii., p. 465): "I should regard the concession of a port upon the Persian Gulf to Russia by any Power as a deliberate insult to Great Britain, as a wanton rupture of the *status quo*, and as an intentional provocation to war; and I should impeach the British Minister who was guilty of acquiescing in such a surrender as a traitor to his country." At a recent meeting

of the Central Asian Society, the members of which are for the most part competent judges on all questions of Asiatic policy, this dictum of the late Viceroy of India was very emphatically endorsed. The author of it did not foresee that in 1907 "Germany" might with propriety be substituted for "Russia." But Germany, in its policy in the Middle East, will find that it has to reckon both with England, Russia, and France, even if Turkey is prepared to play into the hands of William II. Asiatic Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan have a certain bond between them. They are all three Mohammedan, and all three stand between the ambitions of Europe and the vast wealth of the East. Will they succumb to ambition, or will the Concert of Europe befriend them?

Meantime the future dawns bright for the Amir Habibullah Khan. He appears to couple clear insight and astuteness with decision of character, and to temper a progressive policy with due caution. The English nation, as matters now stand, can only wish him all prosperity. A strong Afghanistan ought to be a bulwark to India. If His Majesty really visits England in the course of the next year or two, he will most certainly receive a keen welcome. I do not doubt that he will then renew the request made by his father through Nasrullah Khan—viz., that an Afghan envoy should be accredited to the Court of St. James. That is a question hedged round with difficulties, and no man can feel sure that good will come of the change. Whatever blunders during the past century Viceroys and their Councils in India may have made in their conduct towards the Amirs and people of Afghanistan, we can hardly deny that the issue of that policy, or congeries of policies, has been to create a strong Afghanistan, stronger at this moment and more united than perhaps it has ever before been.



## INDIAN POTTERY.\*

By R. F. CHISHOLM, F.M.U., F.R.I.B.A.

As an introduction to the subject of Indian pottery, it may be advisable to say a few words on the subject of potting-bodies and glazes generally.

The nature of a potting-body embraces the two characteristics of plasticity and refractability. Plasticity enables the moistened clay to retain its shape whether moulded by hand or thrown on the potter's wheel, and refractability enables the moulded article to retain its form unaltered in the great fire. All clay is more or less plastic, but very few kinds will stand heavy firing without losing shape or actually melting. The melting is caused by ingredients in the body which, fusing at a low temperature, act as fluxes. Translucent porcelain, the highest achievement of the potter's art, is composed principally of a fine white clay called kaolin (disintegrated granite), the bones, as it were, of the body, and felspar, the flesh. The particles of felspar melt, and, permeating the particles of kaolin, hold them together. Your readers may remember that it occupied the whole of the potters of Europe about 100 years to obtain translucency, and a quaint tale is told about this. An English missionary in Japan, who had watched the Japanese working porcelain, but failed to produce practical results with a potter friend in England, promised on his next return to England to bring some of the stuff which produced translucency. Accordingly, on his return to Japan he explained to a native potter what he wanted. The potter gave him a quantity of felspar, which the missionary in due course brought to his friend the potter; but, notwithstanding repeated trials, translucency was not obtained. The missionary on returning to Japan accused the potter of deceiving him. "No," said the man; "I gave you what you asked me for." "But," said the

\* For discussion on this paper, see report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

missionary, "we tried it over and over again, and the articles when burnt were not translucent." "Ah, ha!" said the amused Jap, "you English are clever people, but you cannot make a body with flesh and blood only: you must have bones. You asked me for the material which made the clay translucent, and I gave it to you. You did not tell me you were going to make a body with it. Here," he said, giving him some kaolin, "here are the bones; now try."

I need hardly say the second attempt, with kaolin and felspar, was successful.

Now, throughout India the common clay differs very little from the common clay found in England and elsewhere; it is strongly impregnated with iron, which causes it to burn a red colour. For bricks or very coarse ware no preparation is necessary beyond kneading the clay with water, but if the clay has to be shaped by "throwing"—the technical term for working on the potter's wheel—it must be washed. This washing, besides clearing the clay of many soluble constituents, allows the coarser particles to settle, and only the finer clay on the surface is scraped off and kneaded until it is of the proper consistency.

Now, throughout the length and breadth of India useful earthenware articles are made of the common clay, which burns more or less red, according to the amount of oxide of iron present. Many varieties of articles are formed, but the principal are porous chattees or ghurras. You may observe that the curves of both these forms are identical, although they look so very different, and it is surprising how many different forms can be worked from this simple curve—Hogarth's line of beauty translated into its Greek form—an almost endless variety may be obtained. An Indian potter's stock-in-trade is extremely simple: it consists of a rude wheel with an iron cup in the middle. A wooden cleat with an iron spike is buried in the ground to make it firm, and the potter himself, squatting in front of the wheel, with the aid of a bamboo stick, sets the wheel in rapid motion, and by these simple means shapes the

most beautiful and fascinating forms. The process of burning is equally ingenious. A kiln of a fan shape is constructed, with brick sides ; the pots are arranged between the walls and then covered with bricks and clay. The fire is lighted at the thin end, and the wind carries forward and distributes the heat very fairly. The pots so manufactured are exceedingly cheap, and they are all that the ordinary native of India requires. In Mooltan, Delhi, Jeypoor, Bombay, Raneegunge, and probably in other parts of India, fancy articles are made of finer, more refractable clays ; but only in Madras, so far as I know, has any series been worked for the purpose of ascertaining the best mixtures and ensuring constant proportions. To ensure commercial success the clays must be mixed in exact proportions, so that all will be fired at about the same temperature. All potting mixtures must be made in properly constructed vats, generally square. The ingredients forming the paste are ground very fine, to the consistency of cream, and each one must weigh so many ounces to the liquid quart, and it is the proportion of these ingredients which constitutes the different bodies and determines scientifically a potting-body.

In Madras we used clays found by Dr. Hunter, who interested himself in potting-bodies, and in a rough practical manner educated the native potters to throw short bodies and to apply soft lead glazes. In this way Dr. Hunter really laid the foundation for the more exact methods which followed. In Madras the best bodies consisted of four natural ingredients : a highly refractable clay resembling gritty kaolin, a plastic yellowish clay found in Chingleput, ground quartz, and ground felspar. The slip gauge is a stick with nails driven into it. The prepared slip is run into the mixing vat—first yellow clay, second white clay, third quartz, fourth felspar. The position of the nails on the stick indicates the various bodies, with four different ingredients. It must be understood that the labour and time which have to be expended in order to determine a body which is sufficiently plastic to be thrown and so fluxed that

it shall preserve its shape under fire, and not be unduly brittle. After the mixing-tank is full, the contents are run off to dry. In Europe the slip is dried in canvas compartments under hydraulic pressure, and the clay then tempered by machinery, but in India the drying is simple. The tempering is executed by the old method of "slapping." The clay is now ready for the thrower, whose work I have already explained. The ware when dry is said to be in biscuit; it is now stacked in seggars (rings and covers) in the furnace.

The kiln is a conical-shaped circular form, with four or more firing-holes, according to its size. The ware is next packed, small articles in large ones and long articles with two or more rings. At various spots are placed the watches, opposite peep-holes. The watches are small, about 2 inches across, made of the same clay as the ware, with a dab of pale cobalt on each. At intervals watches are drawn, and when cool the time of drawing and the number of hole is written in pencil on each watch; the succeeding series is compared with those previously drawn, and the deepening blue of the dab of cobalt shows exactly the progress of the firing and enables the attendants to regulate the fires. The burning occupies from forty-eight to fifty-six hours. When the watches indicate that the ware is finished, the fire-holes are closed and luted and the kiln allowed to cool.

I have described the process in order that it may be seen that very exact methods must be employed to arrive at results of commercial value.

Now, with regard to fluxes: A flux, as your readers know, melts at a lower temperature than the body with which it is mixed. As all potting-bodies consist of two or more distinct materials, the potter's art may be described as the study of alumina and its fluxes. Specimens of a small collection of Indian pottery were described to the meeting at which this paper was read. There was a specimen of the common clay found throughout India. In this specimen the firing is light, and the oxide of iron has burnt a pale red. In

another the firing was somewhat heavier, and the red was consequently more lively. Had not the clay been washed to remove the more easily soluble salts; it could not have been fired much harder without melting. In another it was seen that the fire had changed the red oxide into dark brown, and lower down it was nearly black; after turning quite black, it would begin to melt. Now, at about the same degree of temperature this pot, composed of a more refractable clay, with a much smaller proportion of iron, becomes a beautiful orange; with a higher temperature—a temperature at which this body would melt completely, the iron passes into peroxide, and makes the body this buff colour. This is true stoneware, and the body will now strike fire when struck with steel. The pot exhibited was one of the first pieces of stoneware made after repeated failures by underfiring. The watches happened on this occasion to be in a cool spot, and the contents of the kiln, with the exception of that article, were destroyed.

The vase exhibited began to get out of shape; but the overhanging of the rim was taken advantage of, and the silver finish makes it a quaint though not a useful article. Two pots then exhibited represented the perfected ware—the shapes were more or less Japanese. The process is as follows: After the pot is thrown and allowed to dry, the pattern is drawn on the white dry clay in pencil. A portion is then moistened with a camel's-hair brush, and while in this condition the design is traced and indented with a metal point or stylet. The filling is then painted with a slip mixture of kaolin and oxide of cobalt, an oxide which passes under firing from a light bright blue, as you see here, to a purple black, as you see there. The pot is then completed by a single firing. When a gloss is added, the article must undergo a second firing.

With the exception of salt-glazed ware, which receives its gloss by the vaporization of sodium, or common salt, thrown into the fire just before the termination of the firing, all articles glazed must receive a second firing. I had in

my collection a specimen of salt-glazed ware made in Madras. It is interesting, as showing that every kind of drain-pipe and such-like ware can be successfully made in India. A salt glaze is proof of perfect firing, because unless the contents of the kiln are at a white heat; the vapourized salt will not unite with the silica on the surface of the ware and form glass. The usual process of glazing is to dip the burnt material into a cream composed of the glass materials ground very fine, and just as the various bodies harden by fluxing at different degrees of temperature, the gloss mixture may be made to melt also at different degrees of temperature. In the softer glazes lead is the flux; in the harder, felspar. In the articles exhibited most of the glazes are hard porcelain glazes.

All these pots were made in Madras; one group consisted of ware made in Mooltan or Delhi, while another was a Bombay pot. Notwithstanding the fact that all the materials necessary for the potter's art are to be found in India, it must not be imagined that the production of sound potting-bodies is a simple task. The results noted here were not obtained without many series of experiments, backed by much practical knowledge on the part of the natives who produced them. A valuable deposit of kaolin was discovered at Whitefield, near Bangalore, some years after these articles were made, and this reminds me of a circumstance which tends to prove the accuracy of this statement.

I happened to be travelling from Madras to Arcotum in company with the gentleman in charge of the potteries at Whitefield. He informed me that the whole undertaking was a failure, and that the works were to be closed. "But," I said, "you have kaolin!" "Oh yes, we have kaolin, but we cannot make anything satisfactory. We have imported practical labour from England, but there are trade secrets which could not be purchased." I pulled out my tiffin basket and produced from it an excellent teapot, which had been in use for two or three years. "You cannot make anything like that." "Oh no," was the reply; "if

we could come anywhere near that we should be quite satisfied." "Well," I said, "that identical teapot was made in Madras about three years ago, and" (turning it up) "there is the trade-mark in Tamil—'Chenna-putnum'!" Whether they took the hint and moved forward to success, or whether Whitefield was closed, I do not know—perhaps some of your readers can inform me. This circumstance unfolds a fact difficult to understand. I have known men, as in this case, brought out from England at great expense, who had not nearly so much practical knowledge as the native workman; and, what is most remarkable, the knowledge in this particular case was to be had for the asking, for in the Madras potteries every series of experiments was recorded in a book at all times open to the inspection of the public.

Then, again, with regard to obtaining skilled European labour, I cannot account for the incompetency of these men. Proper workmen in all branches could easily be obtained, especially during the winter months, but not if the seeker's first thought is "how to take care of Dowb."

Turning now from the materials to the labour obtainable in India, it seems unnecessary to say anything, except perhaps to note that the ornaments on pots exhibited were drawn by native youths, varying in age from twelve to eighteen years. It is all, as may be imagined, laborious hand-work, executed with untiring patience. This cunning skill can, properly directed, compete successfully with any nation in the world, except perhaps Japan; but two conditions are essential for its development—encouragement and capital. First, with regard to encouragement, I would most respectfully venture to deprecate that policy of conservation which has obtained during the past thirty or forty years—a policy which in my humble opinion has retarded, rather than encouraged, the growth of Indian art industries. India has few industrial art centres, but it has its fair share of industrial artists, and these men will pursue the God-given inspiration, whether encouraged or not, and it may be as well to remember that while we are preaching the gospel of conservation all useful

articles of pottery are being poured into India by England and our Continental friends. I speak feelingly on this point, for indirectly this conservative spirit, rightly or wrongly, led to the discontinuance of this interesting series of experiments.

To return to my pots, your readers will understand from what I have said about potting-bodies that there can be two distinct classes of pottery—the useful and the ornamental, the pottery intended for our wants and that regarded as a mere vehicle for artistic display. These two classes overlap each other in endless variety, so that many of the most useful articles are at the same time the soundest and most artistic; but inasmuch as low-fusible metallic oxides can be applied to half-burnt bodies under soft lead glazes, and beautiful colour effects so produced, an enormous quantity of ware of no commercial value is being continually thrown on the market (in many cases inferior ware), extolled by ignorant or interested critics, and much of it obtains higher prices than the finest stoneware or even porcelain. This pot, made in Bombay, is a specimen of such ware. This lovely blue-green is made with the oxide of copper, which in the great fire necessary to burn these articles would pass into its metallic condition and disappear as a colour entirely. As a thing of beauty I can honestly admire this pot; what I regret is the attempt to enthrone it as one of the industrial arts of India, when it is merely a vehicle for artistic display. Again, much time is expended in the search for characteristic work worth conserving, and amusing mistakes are made. I happened to be calling on a lady in London some years ago, a prominent member of the Society for the Conservation and Encouragement of Indian Art Industries, and she pointed with great triumph to a vase on a high shelf as a great treasure she had recently obtained from Jeypoor. She described it as a copy of one of the most ancient forms that the authorities (whoever they were) had yet come across. I was for a moment speechless, as I knew both the form and its history; then I ventured to



remark that it was not a Jeypoor pot at all, but one made in Madras. "Turn it up," I said, "and you will see it stamped 'Chenna-putnum' in Tamil." The pot was brought down, and there was no mark of any kind. On closer examination I saw that it was really a Jeypoor pot, but copied exactly in colour and form from the modern Madras specimen and passed off as an ancient historical form! I have here a specimen of Tanjore ware—silver inlay on copper—and this is its history: I happened to be a member of a committee formed in Madras for the purpose of selecting articles on the part of the Government for some English or Continental exhibition. In the course of a discussion I pointed out that the Tanjore work was not a historical art, nor was it traditional, and I was ruled to be entirely wrong. Somewhat nettled, I went to an ordinary coppersmith and asked him to prepare a salver from my own design, explaining exactly how the article was to be made. In due course this identical salver was brought to me. It is exactly like the work of Sashia Deva of Tanjore. There is an art practised in Tanjore of brass inlay on copper, which I believe is an old art, but this form of silver on copper is quite modern. I passed this salver round the table at our next members' meeting, and all the native gentlemen declared it to be, as I think it is, one of the best specimens of Tanjore work they had seen. So much for traditional and historical Indian art work. I mention these two incidents to show that it is extremely difficult to know what to conserve, apart from the larger question of how to conserve it. It must not be forgotten that all the real exquisite industrial arts of India are relics of the past, and consequently in these days mere curiosities, and to condemn a whole nation to manufacture æsthetical toys or curiosities like these articles, to satisfy the refined tastes of a few Indian visitors, while our own merchants are pouring in cups, saucers, plates, and basins, seems to me to be hardly honest. Again, is there any necessity for conservation? Is anything good ever lost? I think not. I

believe if every industrial artist in India died to-morrow the art instincts of the people would not die ; they would continue to live on. When we have raised the masses up to our own level of refinement, they will be the first to see the beautiful characteristics of their lost arts and recover all they have lost. I cannot help thinking it a peculiar form of national conceit to think they would not do so.

Of the aptitude of the natives of India I have already spoken. I should like to add, however, that when I showed an unbaked Madras pot to Mr. Minton, the eminent English potter, he was surprised, and admitted that the manipulation of such a short body on the wheel was equal to the best English work of the kind ; but until the potter's wheel gives place to the "jigger" and "jolly," both of which require capital, no distinct advance in India will be made in commercial pottery.

The question of capital is a difficult one to deal with, and, in my opinion, until that question is looked squarely in the face there will be no advance. Vast expenditure is being incurred on all sides in the matter of education, and what finer education, may I ask, is it possible to conceive than the development of the most ancient and the most useful of all the arts, the potter's art ? Surely a lac or two of rupees may be spared to develop an industry of which you see here a few specimens of the actual foundation, sufficient to ensure a lasting superstructure. In my opinion it is impossible to overestimate the educational value of the introduction of such handicrafts into India.

While advocating this particular line of advance, I would by no means extend the principle to other industries, for, in my opinion, a good deal of harm has already arisen by Government workshops underselling ordinary vendors.

The Government should never pass from experiment and education to actual manufacture. This question, however, is beyond the scope of the present paper.

## THE KHASIS.\*

BY J. D. ANDERSON.

ONLY the other day one of the reviews declared that English readers are becoming tired of being told that India is not one country but many—that it contains many races, many languages, many religions. If this be so, the reason is not far to seek. In the first place, we must allow for the natural indolence of mankind, and the force of long habit. In the nursery we are taught to think of India as one country, of its people as a dusky race, whose members resemble one another as do the sheep whom only the shepherd can distinguish. It requires some mental effort to escape from this habit of thought. Again, the very writers of gorgeously-illustrated travel books who follow the now established convention of warning the reader at the outset that the peoples of India are far more diverse in race, colour, language, dress, religion, origin, laws, and customs than the peoples of Europe, go on placidly to present a picture of India as a whole—a picture which does not dwell so much on the differences that separate one Indian race from another as on the common features which are much more easily grasped by the passing globe-trotter. Moreover, the traveller who endeavours to get some general idea of India as a whole associates, if he associates with natives of India at all, with the English-speaking classes. Now, these *are* knit together in a new unity of sentiment, especially if they are Hindus. They are of the type that attends the meetings of the National Congress, men who have learned enough of the manner of life of the democratic communities of the West to cherish a hope that the time is near when educated Hindus shall govern India as the British Parliament governs these islands. They are united

\* "The Khasis," by Major P. R. T. Gurdon, I.A., with an Introduction by Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I. London: Nutt.

in a common sense that they possess as much intelligence and knowledge of the world as the British rulers of India. Theirs is, perhaps, not a sentiment of positive hatred of British rule (as such writers as M. Ernest Piriou assert), but rather a sense of rivalry. They are very much in the position of a party that has long been excluded from political power in a democratic country, with this notable difference that, whereas in the one case the exclusion is due to the popular vote, in the other it is attributed to the selfishness and arrogance of foreigners. They do not stop to ask whether their uneducated fellow-countrymen would welcome their advent to power. Many of them belong to races that would certainly never be suffered to rule over more martial and more politically capable people. But since Englishmen are appointed to posts of public trust and honour in India by means of literary examinations, the educated classes, who pass such examinations with great credit and distinction, imagine that they have a right to rule, not only over their own fellow-countrymen, the members of their own race—that is, who speak their own language and, more or less, are of the same blood—but over the peoples of India at large. Hence the new Pan-Indian sentiment, confined, for the most part, to the educated classes, and showing itself chiefly in a more or less heated denunciation of British rule. It is a sentiment which is hardly likely to be assuaged by concessions in the matter of associating more Indians in the administration. It is one which regards India as a political whole—as, in fact, it is under British rule—and it hopes that the unity thus impressed upon hundreds of conflicting nationalities will continue under an indigenous administration. This is not the place to discuss the validity of such a political sentiment. It exists and is reflected in European books about India. They are, in fact, books about the Indian Empire, about the great impartial administration to whom all—Hindu and Mussulman, Brahmin and Sudra, the noble Rajput and the semi-savage Bheel—are alike. To the casual and hasty traveller in India, even if he begins

by conscientiously registering the fact that there are many races and people in the Indian Empire, the true subject of his thoughts is the marvel of the consolidated British dominion. At a time when the British themselves are divided as to Free Trade and Fair Trade, here are 300 millions of British subjects who enjoy Free Trade over an area as large as Europe without Russia, to say nothing of common laws and a vast common administration. The unity of India is naturally a fact that strikes the thoughtful visitor's attention. He may be pardoned for imagining that it counts for more than the underlying national and tribal feelings which in India, as in other continents, make the true patriotism of the people. This it is, apparently, which has produced the passionate opposition to the administrative division of Eastern from Western Bengal. This, it may be, is a more permanent, as it is certainly an older and more instinctive sentiment than that which unites educated Indians in a common desire for administrative independence.

Nor is it necessary to travel in India to get a very vivid understanding of the differences between one Indian race and another. Major Gurdon's admirable monograph, for instance, is an unintended object-lesson in the fact that well within the borders of administrative India, are races that are only Indian because they come under the rule of the Viceroy. The Khasis are by no means numerous. Their total number is no greater than that of the population of, say, Portsmouth, since there are only some 176,000 of them all told. They inhabit a mountain tract about the same size as Yorkshire, in the midst of which is the pretty hill-station of Shillong, from 1874 till the year before last the capital of the province of Assam. Their country is one of the most beautiful and attractive regions in India. In the south, facing the broad plain of Sylhet, is a great cliff, some 4,000 feet high, cretaceous at the foot, and nummulitic above, seamed in the rainy season with lovely waterfalls which are visible from great distances in the plains. Into

this cliff the rivers which flow out of the hills have carved great cañons, or gorges, which are as beautiful as anything that America or Europe can show. One of them, the famous Mau-smai gorge, can boast one of the finest waterfalls in the world. Above Mau-smai is the village of Cherrapunji, which is known to science as the place possessing the largest recorded rainfall in the world—an average fall from May to October of 448 inches. In 1899 the enormous rainfall of 641 inches was recorded. This deluge is apparently due to the fact that the great bluff below Cherrapunji faces the south-west monsoon as it blows over the moisture-laden plains of Bengal. The dark rain-clouds come racing across the Gangetic delta, and burst in torrential storms on a singularly limited area. At Shillong, only 30 miles from Cherrapunji, the rainfall is no greater than in humid parts of Europe.

Behind the plateau of Cherrapunji, with its coal-beds and limestone caves, rises a higher plateau, which ranges in height from 6,000 feet at Mau-phlang to 4,900 in the pretty fir-clad valley in which lies Shillong. Above the station of Shillong soars the loftiest peak in the hills to a height of 6,450 feet. The Shillong plateau consists of a great mass of gneiss, as do the two plateaus or steps by which the Khasi Hills descend into the plains of Assam proper on the north. These steps are, one from 3,000 to 3,900 feet, the other some 2,000 feet above sea-level. The gneiss hills also extend in scattered and irregular masses into the Assam valley; they form the beautiful scenery round Gauhati, the capital of Assam proper, and range as far as the foot of the Himalayas. The great central plateau is covered by transition or metamorphic rocks, consisting of a bed of quartzites overlying a mass of earthy schists. In the central region and along the watershed great masses of intrusive diorite and granite pierce through the metamorphic strata, and furnish one of the most characteristic peculiarities of the scenery of the central plateau. Of granite, for instance, is the huge Kyllang rock of which Major Gurdon

gives an excellent photograph, and about which he records, in the folk-lore section of his book, a curious primitive story. In the southern cretaceous and nummulitic slopes are the famous lime-quarries, of Therriya-ghat, which furnish the cement with which the so-called palaces of Calcutta are built. It is in the warm valleys of this region, too, that the well-known orange-groves lie. It has been conjectured, indeed, that this is the original habitat of the orange, while the potatoes, now very commonly grown in the hills, are, of course, of foreign origin, and one of the many indirect results of British rule.

The people who inhabit those hills vary, roughly speaking, as the physical characteristics of the country. The high and healthy plateau on which Shillong stands is the home of the Khasis properly so called, a sturdy, jovial race of a distinctly Burmese or Indo-Chinese type of feature, not so brachycephalic as the Burmese, but still distinctly round-headed folk. In the eastern half of the hills is the cognate race of the Syntengs or Pnars, who inhabit the region still known as the Jaintia Hills, because, until quite recently, it was governed by the Hindu Rajas of Jaintiapur in the plains of Sylhet. In the hot, but healthy, valleys to the south is a tribe called the Wars. In the south-west corner adjoining the Garo Hills is a race known as the Lyngams, probably a hybrid with the "Bodo" Garos, and sharing many of their tribal peculiarities. In the low malarious ranges to the north—the "Bhoi" country, as it is called—are, mixed with a somewhat degenerate type of Khasis, people of Tibeto-Burmese origin, Mikirs and Lalungs. All these, be it noted, are mountaineers, who, before the advent of British rule, were only known to the Hindu and Mohammedan dwellers in the plains to the north and south as semi-savage caterans who raided their villages and carried off their women. If anyone wishes to know what they were like a hundred years ago, let him read the delightful chapter in the "Lives of the Lindsays" which tells how, in Warren Hastings' time, Robert Lindsay ruled over Sylhet, made a

large fortune by dealing in lime (for Calcutta was then a-building), and came into contact with the Khasi highlanders. In subsequent times the hill-men gave us no little trouble, and the campaign in which they were finally subjugated dragged over some three years. Now, however, the Khasis are among the most peaceful and contented subjects of the King-Emperor, keen traders, industrious cultivators, the best and sturdiest bearers of burdens in Northern India, so that they have usually been engaged for transport purposes in most of the expeditions against the tribes on and across the north-eastern border. For many years the Welsh Baptist missionaries have laboured in their midst with remarkable success. Already about a sixth of the population is Christian, and, as readers of the Indian papers may have noticed, the remarkable revivalist movement in Wales had its echoes in these distant hills. The Khasis and Syntengs are a singularly attractive race, having something of the Japanese delight in living, and the Japanese instinctive enjoyment of natural beauty, their jovial good humour, their happy smiling faces. Perhaps it will give a better idea of the outward aspect of these mountaineers if it is said that they have some points in common with the Irish peasantry. They inhabit thatched huts of stone, which are not unlike Irish cots. They share them in happy familiarity with the family pig. The feminine costume, displaying the bare and highly-developed calves of the Khasi lasses, is roughly reminiscent of that of Thackeray's "Peg of Limavaddy." The men, on the other hand, are not only much given to potations of rice and millet beer, which form an important part of their religious ceremonies, but distil a fiery potheen which leads to much tipsiness on market days. They are not, so far, a highly intellectual race, though they are beginning to make full use of the education extended to them by Government and the missionaries. But they are a cheery, friendly, and happy people, living, for the most part, in a bracing and exhilarating climate, sturdy of frame and kindly of temperament,



very attractive and lovable in spite of, or, perhaps, partly by reason of, very human frailties.

What, it may now be asked, makes it worth while to devote a closely-printed book of some 220 pages to a half-savage primitive race, whose whole population is not that of an ordinary Indian police station? Well, it happens that in many respects they are one of the most interesting races in the world. For a long time it was believed that they were as unique, as isolated, and as hard to be explained as the Basques of our European Pyrenees. The first clue to their probable origin was obtained through their very interesting, chiefly monosyllabic language. It was Mr. J. R. Logan, "who, in a series of papers published at Singapore between 1850 and 1857 in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago* (of which he was the editor) demonstrated the relationship which exists between the Khasis and certain peoples of Further India, the chief representatives of whom are the Mons or Talaings of Pegu and Tenasserim, the Khmers of Cambodia, and the majority of the inhabitants of Annam. He was even able, through the means of vocabularies furnished to him by the late Bishop Bigandet, to discover the nearest" (linguistic) "kinsmen of the Khasis in the Palaungs, a tribe inhabiting one of the Shan States to the north-east of Mandalay on the Middle Salween." The Khasis themselves have a tradition that they came to their present abode from Burmah through the Patkoi pass, through which innumerable invasions have entered the plains of Assam. Major Gurdon records several folk stories and legends which tend to show that the Khasis once dwelt beyond the River Kopili, which now divides them from the Tibeto-Burmese Dima-sa, the inhabitants of the hills to the east of the Jaintia territory. But comparative philology has made many other discoveries since Logan first drew attention to the subject. It was found that the Khasi language had undoubtedly affinities with the large linguistic family described in the Munda volume of Dr. Grierson's great "Survey of Indian

Languages"—the tongues spoken, that is, by the Sonthals, Mundas, and Korkus of Chutia Nagpore, and parts of the Satpura range in the Central Provinces. But the chief advance in the knowledge of the linguistic affinities of the Khasis has been made by learned Germans, by Professor Ernst Kuhn, of Munich, who, in 1883 and 1889, published works on the languages and people of Further India, and, especially and quite recently, by Pater W. Schmidt, of Vienna, whose latest work, "*Die Mon-Khmer Völker, ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austro-nesiens*" (Braunschweig, 1906) has, in Sir Charles Lyall's words, "established the relationship of Khasi not only to the Mon-Khmer languages, but also to Nicobarese, and several dialects spoken by wild tribes in the Malay peninsula.

Indeed, Pater Schmidt has gone further, and has recently enunciated a singularly daring and interesting "Austriac theory," which proclaims the existence of a great family of cognate tongues, extending from Northern India, through Indo-China and Melanesia and Polynesia as far as Easter Island, near the coast of South America. Here the researches of the linguist open up an enormous field of enquiry to the ethnologist. We all know that linguistic affinity is not always a clue to the ethnical origins of a people, since, as in the case of the so-called "Latin" races of Europe, a language may be borrowed from neighbours or conquerors. No one now believes that the many races speaking Indo-European or "Aryan" languages had a common ethnical origin. But the Khasis are certainly not of an Indian type. Their physical aspect, not less than their language, shows them to be of the Indo-Chinese family. It is possible, and even probable, that Mon-Annam tribes once prevailed largely in Northern India. In the hills of Chutia Nagpur they may survive with a strong Dravidian mixture of blood. In the plains of Northern India, if they ever existed there, they have been absorbed and assimilated, and can only be traced by linguistic

survivals. In the Khasi Hills they still remain in a tolerably pure form. It is probable, as Mr. S. E. Peal, an Assam tea-planter who was also an earnest student of ethnology, says, that further inquiry may show that the Eastern Nagas are of Mon-Khmer origin, like their neighbours the Khasis, although they have lost their Indo-Chinese speech. Major Gurdon has recorded all the ethnological information yet available. He shows that the Khasis have some striking resemblances to the Nagas, to the Palaungs, and the wild Wars of Upper Burmah. But the Palaungs have adopted Buddhism, and so have lost most of their distinctive tribal habits, and of the Wars not much seems to be known. There is room for much inquiry and research before the true ethnological affinities of the Khasis can be finally settled. In the meanwhile Major Gurdon has made a most valuable contribution to the inquiry by recording all that is known of the Khasis themselves. He is not only superintendent of ethnography in Assam, but has for three years been Deputy-Commissioner of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. "About half of the district," as Sir Charles Lyall says in his admirable Introduction, "including the country around the capital, Shillong, is outside the limits of British India, consisting of a collection of small States in political relations, regulated by treaty with the Government of India, which enjoy almost complete autonomy in the management of their local affairs. In the remainder, called the Jaintia Hills, which became British in 1835, it has been the wise policy of the Government to maintain the indigenous system of administration through officers named *dolois*, who preside over very large tracts of country with very little interference."

Over the native States in the Khasi Hills proper rule chiefs who are known as *siems*, partly hereditary and partly elective. That is, the chiefs are chosen out of families in which the dignity has become hereditary. But the succession to chieftainship, as to property, is peculiar to the Khasis, and this brings us to the most characteristic

astonishing, and un-Indian feature of Khasi life, the curious custom of the *matriarchate*, the description of which is the most original and valuable part of Major Gurdon's book. If, in India proper, women are despised and secluded, and hold an inferior position, in the Khasi Hills they occupy a higher and more important social status than among ourselves. It is true that this trait in the national character is due to their habit of reckoning descent by the extremely primitive matri-lineal method, a system usually associated with the most elementary social life, and abandoned by some of the most primitive Australian savages. The Khasis are by no means a savage or degraded race, and yet they still recognize kinship only through the mother. A son belongs to his mother's family, in which the father is usually little more than a guest. It would take too long to describe in detail the curious rules of inheritance which result from this matriarchal system. The reader will find them carefully and exhaustively recorded in Major Gurdon's book. Very curious and interesting, for instance, are the rules as to prohibited degrees of relationship. The exogamous tribes among the Khasis (Major Gurdon calls them "clans," but the name does not matter, since he clearly describes their nature) are collections of people who are, or believe themselves to be, descendants of a common mother. There are also the "local tribes," such as Khasis proper, Syntengs, Wars, and the political divisions of these. But the subdivisions seem to be entirely of the matriarchal type. Connected with matriarchy also are the remarkable megalithic monuments of which Major Gurdon's book contains many admirable photographs. They mark the resting-places of the bones of deceased Khasis descended from a common maternal ancestor. Real property, roughly speaking, descends through youngest daughters, though the rules as to the steps to be taken in case of the failure of these are peculiar and interesting. Adoption of daughters is possible in case there is no female issue. It need hardly be said that in a system like this there is no feminine

seclusion. The women enjoy a consideration and liberty such as cannot be surpassed in any European country. Divorce is common, but the sexual morality of the Khasis in country places is probably as good as that of any race in the world. The children are well and affectionately treated, and the social system, as was said above, leads to a happy and contented existence which it is pleasant to observe.

Of the religion of the Khasis and Syntengs, Major Gurdon gives a very full and interesting account. There are traces of polytheism, borrowed in part, no doubt, from Hindu neighbours in Assam and Sylhet, and of Animism, the worship and propitiation of rivers and other natural objects and forces. But there is also a pre-Christian belief in a Creator, who is appealed to in ordeals and at marriage services. This supreme being is sometimes addressed as a goddess, perhaps in accordance with the matriarchal idea which runs through all Khasi institutions. One of the most interesting things in Major Gurdon's book is an elaborate account, illustrated with a diagram, of the Khasi system of *ooskopia*, or divination by breaking eggs, which forms a very characteristic feature of Khasi life. But the book abounds with curious and original matter. Lovers of folk-lore will be interested in a remarkable collection of local stories, recorded in both Khasi and English, printed in pp. 162 to 187. These are thoroughly racy of the soil, and, unlike the tales told by most of the Assam hill-tribes, show few traces of a Hindu origin.

In India proper we come into contact with a religion and a civilization which has many affinities with those with which our classical reading made us more or less familiar in our youth. In the Khasi Hills we meet a much more primitive form of social conventions, and a life which we should be tempted to call savage, were not the Khasi people singularly unsavage in their social existence. Unlike their Naga neighbours, they have long abandoned the habit of intertribal war. They are a singularly amiable and attractive race of men—happy, smiling, cheerful, fond of music,

and keen lovers of natural beauty, of flowers, and of their charming native hills. They are industrious, peaceful, orderly, law-abiding, and many of them are now convinced and consistent Christian folk. To them British administration has been an unmixed blessing, and has not awakened in their minds as yet any aspirations towards Western modes of life. In their own simple way they are as prosperous as they are happy. On the higher plateau they enjoy one of the most delightful climates in the world, and, unvexed by war or pestilence or scarcity, their life is one that most Europeans might well regard with wistful envy. They are, alas! as exceptional in the vast seething mass of Indian humanity, as their native hills are a contrast to the warm, steamy plains that lie around them. Until the missionaries came into their midst they had no writing, and therefore no history. It was reserved for European scholars to investigate their probable origin, and, *audax Iapeti genus*, to try to trace their relationships with the Indo-Chinese and Polynesian folk away to the Far East. For them, such inquisitive inquiries have neither importance nor interest. They live the life of grown-up children, occupied only with the passing day, much given to simple amusements, and what seem to us childish superstitions. But they are kindly and amiable folk, happy, innocent, and credulous. No one who has lived in their midst can fail to love them and the homely charm of the mountains that are their abode. For all their primitive institutions, they have more in common with our own race than the inscrutable intelligence of the Hinduized peoples, whose imagination is crowded with the exuberant mythology of a religion whose complexity and inventiveness no European really understands. There have been scholars who have found a congenial charm in the Homeric beauty of the Vedic hymns, because in that simple origin of Hindu polymorphism is an analogy to the earlier European mythology. But it is among these simple hill-folk that the Christian missionary makes the most numerous converts, and it is they who are

most easily administered by British officers of the type of which Major Gurdon is, as his book shows, an accomplished and admirable example. The Government has been content to leave their tribal customs undisturbed because, if they are rude and primitive, they are not cruel or criminal. Theirs is a different civilization from ours, simpler, more childish, more primitive. But it produces what is the best objective of all administration—happiness and contentment.

Major Gurdon would probably be dissatisfied were we to leave his book without some criticism. It has one startling—and characteristic—fault! It is charmingly illustrated with water-colour sketches and photographs, which arouse a nostalgic thrill in all readers who know and love the beautiful Khasi Hills and the kindly people it describes. But it possesses no map. That is a defect which is easily remedied, since a work published under Government auspices might easily borrow from Dr. Grierson's Survey the excellent map "showing the area in which the Khasi language and its dialects are spoken." But the absence of the map is characteristic, as we have said. It is characteristic of the writer's modesty. He is too apt to assume that his readers will belong to the limited class who so much as know that India contains any Khasis at all. He uses vernacular names somewhat freely, and sometimes without translation, and thus gives the necessarily ignorant reviewer the tortures of Tantalus. One instance of this is in Appendix B, where the very important and interesting list of exogamous "clans" urgently calls for translation (where translation is possible) and explanation. Diligent readers of Major Gurdon's text will conjecture that some of the titles are derived from place-names, such as Bhoi, Dumpep, Umnuid, War, Myllem. Of the Diengdoh family the text tells us that their name is that of a tree, and relates the legend which connects that tree with the common ancestress. The Dkhar family, we infer from the text, are a half-breed family with Hindu blood in their veins, derived from the Sabine rape of a dusky ancestress. "Hadem," similarly,

points to an ancestress carried off from the North Cachar Hills, the region of the mythological Hindu demon Hidimba. The Sati clan has an interesting air of possessing Hindu origins, but we can only guess. The "Dup" clan, to one who knows something of Tibeto-Burman beliefs, suggests marriage with Bodo races, and some fanciful connection with the "dup" tree of the "Bara-fisa." When Major Gurdon prepares his second edition it would perhaps be well if he could secure the temporary collaboration of an ethnologist who has no local knowledge, if only to suggest the need of explanation of facts, names, and phrases, which long use has made familiar and obvious to the author.

But it would be unfair to take leave of Major Gurdon's excellent manual on a note of perhaps meticulous criticism. It contains a singularly learned, sympathetic and interesting description of a unique and amiable race. At one time it seemed probable that the Khasis would share the fate of the other animistic tribes of North-Eastern Bengal and Assam, and would be adopted into Hinduism. To this day educated Khasis use Hindu names, when, indeed, as Major Gurdon tells us with sly humour, they do not give their children titles which are supposed to be Christian, such as "Suez Canal," and so forth. (It would be well, by the way, if Major Gurdon were to carefully note all the Hindu loan words in the Khasi language, seeing that these, owing to the Welsh system of spelling now used by the Khasis, are not always recognizable. Is not, for instance, *niam*, meaning "rule" or "observance," the Bengali *niyam*?) The Hinduizing tendency has been replaced by Christian influences, and it is quite possible that in the Khasis and Garos we may yet have instances of whole races or nations (if the word may be used of such numerically small collections of men) converted to Christianity. Major Gurdon tells us that even before Christianity has awakened and inspired their consciences, the good Khasi folk have qualities which we may conjecture to be not unlike those of our own British ancestors. Their



native hills possess a scenery and a climate which delightfully resemble (in all save the presence and the breath of the sea) those of our own Devon and Cornwall. The great plateaus are not at all unlike Dartmoor and Exmoor. If on the southern slopes the Khasis can grow oranges and lemons *pan* and betel, in a Sicilian climate, round Shillong the pine-forests are as odorous and health-giving as those of Bournemouth or Surrey, and elsewhere are magnificent groves of oak, beech, and rhododendron. Neither land or people are of the conventional Indian type, and if they are exceptional and isolated it is well to remember that there are many such exceptions in India. It is only in the great plains that (subject to the restraining influences of caste) there has been a merging of Indian nationalities and a confusion of Indian tongues. These scattered highland races owe more to British rule, perhaps, than the plains-folk, who regard the hill-men with a constitutional mixture of dread and scorn. To the Englishman, on the other hand, perhaps because, in spite of his intellectual and physical culture, he is still something of a healthy barbarian, these hill-tribes are singularly attractive. Major Gurdon's book reminds us that we have still much to learn about our humble, but by no means unlovable or despicable, fellow-subjects in the forests and mountains of India.

Major Gurdon's work on the Khasis is the first of a projected series of ethnological manuals on the tribes and races of Assam. We already hear of a monograph on the Mikirs from the accomplished pen of Sir Charles Lyall; of an account of the Kacharis by the Rev. Sydney Endle, who has spent forty years among that most interesting race; of an illustrated description of the Garos, connected by language, if not by institutions, with the Kacharis, from the pen of the present Deputy-Commissioner of the Garo Hills. These may be followed by dozens of such works on races whose names and homes are little, if at all, known to people who have very definite conceptions about the curious India of convention, the India of the travel-

books and royal progresses and tours. We congratulate the Director of Ethnology in Assam on the delightful task which awaits him in editing a series which will be full of pleasure and instruction to linguists, ethnologists, and students of primitive custom and religion. It would not be right to conclude this account without noting that it was Sir Bamfylde Fuller who, in 1903, being then Chief Commissioner of Assam, proposed the preparation of this series of monographs. Major Gurdon gracefully acknowledges his debt to his late chief, and rightly says that Sir Bamfylde Fuller's "kindly interest in the Khasis will long be remembered by them with affectionate gratitude." The first volume of the series does great credit to the Chief Commissioner who suggested its preparation, and to the author, whose industry and modesty are equalled by his unmistakable regard for the interesting people he has so well described.

## ISLAM IN CHINA.

BY E. H. PARKER.

THE following papers are reduced translations of a small pamphlet, with its colophons and prefaces, emanating from West China, which has been copied and sent to me from Sz Ch'wan by Mr. G. W. Shipway. About twelve years ago the Imprimerie Nationale of Paris published a small work by the late Gabriel Devéria, entitled "*Origine de l'Islamisme en Chine*," which was reviewed in one of the numbers of the *Academy* for 1895 or 1896. In this work M. Devéria gives a critical account of the various attempts made by modern Chinese Mussulmans to reconstruct from traditions the alleged history of early Islam in China, and to connect the well-known mosques of Canton with the earliest missionaries said to have been dispatched to China by Mahomet himself. The papers now translated, so far as they are relevant to historical conclusions, simply tell the same story in modified form, adding at the same time some particulars about the Prophet's life which are not to be found in most of the accessible European histories and encyclopædias. So far as the dynastic records of China take us, there is absolutely nothing to show that the Arabs were even known by name to the Emperor at the time, A.D. 628, when he is said to have had a dream, sent envoys to Mahomet, and sanctioned the erection of mosques in China. The whole story seems to have been suggested by that of A.D. 62, when a Chinese Emperor dreamt of a personage stated by the interpreters of his dream to be Buddha, and sent envoys to the Indus region to find out all about the new religion. Nor is there anything in the ancient Mussulman remains and inscriptions either at Canton or, so far as we know, elsewhere in China to connect them definitely with alleged Arab missionaries of the seventh century. Still, the Chinese Mussulmans have always been a serious

and morally respectable body of men, as even the pagan Chinese admit when engaged in suppressing their revolts, religious or political ; and consequently it must be believed that, in circulating so industriously these pamphlets concerning the origin of their religion, they are acting in good faith. Moreover, it must be remembered that for 300 years North China had been under Tartar Emperors, and entirely separated from the dynasties of South China reigning at Nanking, who had in consequence a monopoly of the sea-trade up to the year 581 at least. Then the short-lived but energetic dynasty of Sui governed the whole of China until 618, to be in that year supplanted by the glorious house of T'ang ; it is quite certain that Fire-worshippers, Manicheans, and Nestorians arrived in China *viâ* Persia within twenty years of that date, and though the Chinese histories first mention the Arabs only in 651, after their defeat of the Persian King Yezdegerd, yet that same Yezdegerd sent a mission to China in 638, when his troubles were beginning. Though specific evidence is wanting, it is by no means impossible, therefore, that Mahomet, who showed such military activity between the Hegira of 622 and his death in 632, should have heard of China, and even have sent thither a man named Wakkass, though, of course, not his uncle Wakkass, who died about 672 at Medina. Further information may at any time turn up, as the Chinese unofficial records are more closely examined ; and meanwhile it is only reasonable to listen to the unofficial statements of Chinese Mussulmans, even though official Chinese history cannot be reconciled with all their allegations.

The undated preface to the "Origin of the Mussulmans," written by Yang Tien-ying, apparently about twenty years ago, begins by stating that Islam in China extends back to Wakkass of the T'ang period, who received Mahomet's specific commands to proceed to China, and sojourned first of all at Ch'ang-an (the present Si-ngan Fu in South Shen Si) : later he went to Canton, where his tomb is still to be

seen outside the northern suburb ; but nothing is known of the precise date of his arrival there. When the Mussulman *akhoond* Ma Têh-hing [killed in 1874 at the capture of Ta-li Fu from the Panthays]\* was conducting a school for believers at Canton at the Hwai-shêng Sz [mosque erected in memory of Wakkass], he heard of this, and expressed his astonishment that no one had thought fit to rescue the facts from oblivion. Then it was that Mr. Pao Hiung-chao, cognomen Tsz-pin, composed from the statements of the various histories the pamphlet now under notice.

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Next follows a colophon by Pao Hiung-chao himself, saying: that in the year 1876 he had met Ma Têh-hing at the Hia-t'ah ["Summer Pagoda," probably one of the names by which the Kwang-t'ah, or "Bare Pagoda," of the Canton Mosque is known] Mosque, and that the latter had produced a work of his own composition on Arabia, Wakkass, and Mahomet, to which Mr. Pao considered he ought, as a Cantonese, to add a few words. For instance, that the Hwai-shêng Sz was destroyed during the local disturbances of 1341 to 1368, which accompanied the ejection of the Mongols from North China by the native dynasty of Ming ; but that the Mongol General Sêngianu had it rebuilt, besides repairing the grave of Wakkass. Again, during the Ming reign, 1464 to 1487, there was an outbreak of the aboriginal tribes in Kwang Si and Kwang Tung, in order to quell which the then Viceroy, Han Yung [this revolt is supported by standard history], brought 3,000 Mussulman troops down from Nanking in order to quell the insurrection. In consequence of their effective services, the Emperor ordered the permanent establishment of four Mussulman garrisons in Canton city. When the last scions of the Ming dynasty were in turn being driven out by the Manchus, three faithful Mussulman commanders attached to these garrisons bravely died at their posts [presumably in defence of Ming interests],

\* Wherever square brackets [ ] are used, the words contained between them have been added by me to explain the text.

and their graves are still to be found alongside that of Wakkass, as is recorded in the local chronicle of the city.

\* \* \* \* \*

Finally comes a preface to the second edition by Ma K'i-yung, a *hadji* of Sin-hing in Yün Nan, stating that in the year 1882 he had been fortunate enough to obtain a copy of the "Origin of the Mussulmans," and had learnt for the first time that Mr. Pao Tsz-pin had obtained his information from Ma Têh-hing, instructor to the Hwai-shêng Sz—*i.e.*, from an ancestor of his own; in consequence of which he had had it reprinted, the printing blocks being stored in the Old Mosque of Ch'ang-sha Fu in Hu Nan province. [Ma Têh-hing, known also as Ma Fuh-ch'u, visited Mecca and Constantinople in 1846 to 1848, and is mentioned by both names in standard Manchu history.]

\* \* \* \* \*

According to the Chinese story, as told in the "Origin of the Mussulmans," during the late spring of the year corresponding to A.D. 628, the Emperor had a curious dream, followed, when he awoke, by the strange spectacle of a turbaned individual crouching in the apartment. The next morning one of the imperial astrologers represented to the Emperor that he had observed during the night certain remarkable lights in the western sky, and suggested that envoys should be sent to discover the indications of future political changes in that direction. The Emperor then described his own vision, followed by the unexpected sight of a crouching man in a turban and green robe, engaged in reciting from a book. The minister then explained that turbaned persons were the Mussulmans of the West, far away beyond the remotest passes of Kan Suh province, and their King was a latter-day saint named Mahomet or Muhammed. This story was supported by the testimony of one of the Emperor's generals who had formerly been also one of his rivals at the time when a change of dynasty was taking place. [It must be here noted that the Chinese

have no trace of any word signifying "Mussulmans" previous to the twelfth century.]

In consequence of these representations, the Emperor dispatched an officer named Shih T'ang by way of Hami and Bokhara, at which latter place the envoy fell in with some traders from Mecca, from whom he was able to glean some information touching the holy man of the West; to the effect, namely, that the sage in question emanated from Mecca in Arabia; that he had received a Scripture from Heaven, and that he had been appointed Prophet for the conversion of the world. [No known historical work contains any mention of Shih T'ang, and Hami was at this time a Buddhist centre in possession of the Turks, known by quite another name—I-wu, or I-ngu, which some persons have thought means Igour or Ouigour (Turks).] The merchant who related these things offered to guide the steps of the Chinese envoy to Mecca, where in due course the imperial letter and prayer for support was handed in. The sage explained that his daily religious duties rendered it impossible for him to go to China in person, but he announced his readiness to dispatch suitable persons to represent him there. He therefore made selection of three pious and learned *sahebs*, named Kaiss, Uwaiss, and Wakkass, and sent them to China along with Shih T'ang, to whom he presented as a gift for the Emperor a portrait of himself, which had been transferred to a piece of paper hung upon the wall of the Kaaba, before which sheet of paper the sage had only to stand a few minutes whilst the transfer process was going on. He warned the Chinese envoy that the Emperor should be careful not to allow any persons to worship or do obeisance to this picture. [It is stated in the encyclopædias that in the seventh century the Arabs really had learnt from the Chinese how to make paper from cotton.] Two of the *sahebs* found the climate and the hardships of travel so trying that they perished on the way, but Wakkass arrived safely, *viâ* the Kia-yüh Pass in Western Kan Suh, at the Chinese Court. When Shih

T'ang presented the portrait to the Emperor, he forgot the Prophet's injunction never to make obeisance before it ; so soon as the Emperor had opened and inspected it, he at once recognized the turbaned man in green who had appeared after his vision. So impressed was he by this coincidence, that he at once ordered it to be hung up in his throne-room, and lost no time in doing obeisance to it. The consequence was that the portrait immediately disappeared from the paper, and the only satisfaction remaining, after the neglect of the Prophet's injunction, was the conviction that all his words must be true.

The Prophet had confidentially instructed the three *sahibs* that, in order to overcome the difficulty of language in a strange country, they should carry with them a handful of native soil, by sniffing which they might at any time be permeated by his own spirit. Wakkass did this, and was thus enabled to discuss all political and religious matters intelligibly and intelligently with the Emperor. His Majesty was so struck with Wakkass' powers that he expressed a desire to keep him as an adviser, offering him the post of chief astronomer and a high salary. [It is quite true that at least Hindoo astronomers were employed in China at this time.] Wakkass, however, pleaded his incompetence, as well as his absence of worldly ambition, and vowed that his only desire was to spread the truth in China, adding that one single man could not achieve much even of that work. On this the Emperor offered to send 3,000 Chinese troops to Arabia, in exchange for 3,000 Mussulman soldiers to be sent to China to assist Wakkass in the work of religious conversion. But the good Wakkass did not like the notion of taking 3,000 Chinese so far away from their families and homes, and therefore proposed that he himself should dispatch a memorial to his master, asking for as many unencumbered volunteers as should choose to come to China, only begging that the Emperor would provide them with suitable homes and military pay. The result of this application [and it is not explained by what channel it



reached Arabia] was that the Prophet at once dispatched 800 volunteers, free from family ties, to assist Wakkass in his work of conversion. The Emperor commanded one of his Tartar generals—a man well known to standard history—to superintend the construction of a mosque, and dwelling-houses attached, in a certain street of the metropolis (Ch'ang-an the modern Si-ngan Fu, in Shen Si province), "and to this day" (says our narrative) "the commemorative tablet is still preserved in that street, thus evidencing the first entry of Islam into China." [I am not aware that any European has ever seen either an old mosque or a commemorative tablet in Si-ngan.]

And thus things went on until the reign of the great-grandson of the above-mentioned Emperor, when, in consequence of the rebellion of His Majesty's Turkish minion Anlushan in 756, and the flight of the Emperor from his capital, it was found necessary to apply for the assistance of Mussulman troops. [Chinese history supports this, and gives the name Abu Djafar as that of the general who lent the troops.] The Mussulman King, perceiving that the application emanated from a descendant of Wakkass, at once dispatched a force of 3,000 of his best troops. They proved irresistible: Anlushan had to vacate the metropolis, and the Emperor was so pleased with their efforts that he decided to retain the services of the Mussulman soldiers as a permanent body-guard. A larger mosque, with adequate buildings attached for the accommodation of 3,000 men, was erected in the metropolis [Ch'ang-an]. Just so many women were brought to the capital from the province of Kiang Si, and given to the soldiers as wives, since which time they have multiplied and prospered; but from time to time they have been drafted off for service in other provinces, in few of which we do not find Mussulmans at the present day.

Wakkass obtained leave to revisit his own country on three occasions after his first arrival in China. On the first occasion he went to obtain the necessary stock of religious

literature for use in China. On the second occasion he went to receive from the Prophet's hands a copy of the Koran, and to engage persons competent to recite it; also to have indicated the place of his own death. The Prophet gave him a copy of what had been revealed up to date, and promised to send more when it should have been received from Heaven. As to the place of Wakkass' death, he pointed eastwards, and said that the arrow shot by an archer then summoned for that purpose would indicate the exact place of death. Wakkass returned to China by sea, and in due course arrived safely at Canton, where he discovered the arrow outside the north wall, near a bridge called the *Liu-hwa K'iao*. Here he caused to be built an enclosure in readiness to accommodate his body after death. He also memorialized the Emperor for permission to erect a temple called the *Hwai-shêng Sz*, or "Temple in memory of the Prophet." This was granted, and glebes were appropriated to the uses of the mosque in the adjacent city districts of Lung-mên and Tsêng-ch'êng. Boundary stones were set down on the spots in question, and marked "Mussulman glebes," but these have since disappeared in the course of time. Inside the mosque was erected a bare pagoda 160 feet in height; on the summit there is a vane in the form of a golden fowl which turns with the wind, and there is also a winding staircase or passage inside by which you can go to the top. [I have visited this pagoda, but the vane is no longer there.] Morning and evening the *muezzin* ascends this to call to prayer, and to recite the *pang-koh*, [?]. Every seven days a flag is kept flying on the pagoda to notify people that this is the Lord's day. The mosque is to the north-west of the *P'o Shan* (Bank Hill), which in ancient times was the head of the ferry, so that all the merchant ships congregated at the ferry head could see it plainly. The Five Genii Temple of to-day, in fact, occupies the old site of Bank Hill.

After this the Prophet sent forty men to escort the

Koran to the Chinese metropolis. Here they learned that Wakkass was at Canton, and so they handed over the Koran to the Mussulman students, and proceeded themselves to Canton. They happened to reach the northern suburb on a Sabbath, and they were in the act of spreading their mats on the ground to pray, when they were suddenly attacked by a powerful robber (whose attention had been attracted by their strange language and appearance), and all murdered. By-and-by the robber learnt of the quality of the virtuous men he had murdered, and in despair cut his own throat. The forty graves still seen there are those of the men who brought the Koran, and outside the gate is the robber's own grave.

The third occasion on which Wakkass returned home was after seeing in a vision a man who told him that the Prophet was about to quit this world, and that he must hurry back at once if he wished to see the last of his master. He left for Medina the next day, but arrived at his distant destination too late. However, he was in time for the public funeral, and was able to get a glimpse of the Prophet's features by removing the cover of the bier. The other *sahebs* and elders told him that Mahomet had left behind testamentary directions that he was to return to China to preach the faith: he received at the same time a complete copy of the Koran in 6,666 verses, arranged in 30 large volumes of 114 chapters. This book he carried with him to Canton, where shortly afterwards he died. His disciples buried him within a circular wall, constructed after the fashion of the Arabian tombs, with a pavilion or chapel attached for prayers and sacrifices or offerings, whence it is also called the Offering Tomb. [*Hiang-fên*. M. Devéria gives a second *Hiang*, and translates "Echo Tomb."] The door-slab bears the four words, *Sien-hien Ku-mu* (Former Sage's Ancient Tomb); and this is all that remains of the *saheb* Wakkass' memory. The word *saheb* refers to his having formerly been one of Mahomet's intimates.

ORIGINAL NOTE.—Mahomet became a prophet at forty—*i.e.*, in the sixth year (*sic*) (623) of the founder of the T'ang dynasty. He was forty-five when his teachings were brought to China, in the second year of the founder's son (628). He died at sixty-three, in the twentieth year (646) of that same son. [It must here be explained that these, like nearly all Chinese Mussulman dates, are a few years wrong, owing to the strictly lunar nature of the Mussulman year having been misunderstood.]

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The above is a *précis* of the little pamphlet *Hwei-hwei Yuan-lai*, or "The Origin of the Mussulmans," a manuscript copy of which was obtained for me, as I have stated, at Ch'êng-tu, in Sz Ch'wan, by Mr. G. W. Shipway, a former student at Owens College, Manchester. [The late Alexander Wylie says that one copy dates back to 1754.] It is immediately followed by the following sketch of Islam, taken from the *T'ien-fang Shih-luh*, or "True History of Arabia":

Islam began in Arabia ["Heavenly Place" or "Heavenly House," probably = Paradise], and Arabia goes back to Adam and the Creation. The saints and prophets from Adam downwards succeeded each other from time to time until the Sui dynasty's reign period 581-600, when Mahomet appeared, and the *tao* (*i.e.*, "road," or "teaching") became clearer. The name *T'ien-fang*, or "Heavenly House," was at the Creation called *Kaaba*, and descended from Heaven; hence "Heavenly House" was adopted as the name of the State itself, which was considered to be in the exact centre of the world; thus the faithful in all parts bow towards Mecca; [The *Beitullah*, or "House of God," at Mecca]. Man's true unsullied nature evinces itself in prayer, when inspiration also comes to him, and all unworthy thoughts and motives vanish. Full details about all this spiritual working are to be found in the Holy Scriptures, from Adam downwards to Mahomet, and the longest life is insufficient wherein to become proficient in the mastery of

all these mysteries ; in any case, the vast sense of the true religion is only partly and imperfectly expressed in human literature, not to speak of the limited scope of Chinese history. The various Ouigour States all accepted the faith of Islam, which is further evidence of its influence [as I have shown in my book, "China and Religion," the Ouigour Turks are inexplicably mixed up with the word "Mussulman"]; yet it is remarkable how so many of our best Chinese literati should have from time to time visited Western Asia without any one of them having brought back a clear statement about Islam. It is for this reason that I write this short notice to show how immeasurably superior it is to all other religions, and for further information I would refer to special authorities [? Arabic] on the subject.

Written by Chang Hin-ting of Pêh-hai in the year 1634 of the Ming Emperor Ch'ung-chêng [reign 1627 to 1644].

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The above is followed by an essay on the Mussulman religion taken from an undated work called *Shi-wu Tung-k'ao*, an "Enquiry into Matters of General Interest." The purport of it is as follows: Though the Mussulman religion began with Mahomet, yet Abraham of Judæa is the original apostle, though the faith much later on really spread from Arabia. We must consult both the Old and the New Testament in order to understand parts of the Koran. The *Shang-ti*, or God, of Mahomet was the *Shên*, or Spirit, worshipped by Abraham: probably Mahomet followed the lines of the *T'ien-chu Kiao* [Christianity], or adapted it to his views. At present there are three main streams in this religion; to wit, the *I-sê-la-wei* [? Islam or ? Israelitish] Society, the *Mê-tsai-lêng-wei* Society [? Moslem], and the *Mu-han-mê-tê* [Mahomet] Society, all of which use the same calendar, beginning with the year of Mahomet's moving from Mecca city [the Hegira, or "flight," of A.D. 622]. He fled from his political enemies to Medina, whence the calendar begins with this year and day, which is the fifteenth [Gibbon says

sixteenth] day of the seventh month of the Western Calendar year 622. Their Mussulman books all take their cue from the Koran, which gives a detailed account of Mahomet and his doings. The first part of it says that Mahomet was a native of Arabia in Asia, and of very wealthy family of successful traders. His great-great-grandfather [Gibbon says it was Hashen, his great-grandfather] once shared his bread with the hunger-stricken people, who therefore held his memory in affection. Mahomet was a posthumous son, and his mother, after her husband's death, was too poor to rear him, so she sent him to a foster-mother, whence he returned at the age of four. Four years later, again, his mother died, and his grandmother took charge of him. But before long his grandfather, who had also become impoverished, died, and Mahomet had no one but his uncle [father's younger brother] to go to. When a youth he was very clever and enterprising: at the age of thirteen he offered his services as scavenger in the army, and attracted his petty officer's attention so much by his industry that he was made a regular soldier. [It is usually stated that at thirteen he went with his uncle Abu Talêb to Syria.] Now, it so happened that a society had been formed in his native country the object of which was to sustain the poor against the rich, and to set aright all grievances; it was called the Society of Heroes, and Mahomet had belonged to it; but after his military service he withdrew from it. A new temple had just been erected in his native place when he returned crowned with military glory. It was called the *Nga-ba* [? Kaaba], and it yet required the placing of a black corner-stone, much as we in China hang up an honorary or ornamental door-tablet. The persons in charge, holding that Mahomet's military successes pointed him out as the most suitable man to lay this stone, charged him with the duty, which he performed successfully amid the acclamations of the multitude. His name was soon in every one's mouth. It was now that a rich widowed

relative of his pressed him to undertake the management of her family affairs, which prospered so much under his administration that she ended by marrying him. At this time the rulers of Arabia were elective for a term of years ; and, as the spirit of the people was warlike, it came about that Mahomet was chosen at the next vacancy. Observing the unsettled state of religious belief, he now took the opportunity to introduce a new faith which, he asserted, he had received direct from the God of Heaven. By dint of his able proselytism he soon obtained followers, though he found himself severely handicapped by his lack of a liberal education. He endeavoured to remedy this defect by retiring for long periods into seclusion and studying the Old and New Testaments ; but of course there was much he was not capable of understanding, and the result was that many of his own ideas were woven in with parts that he did not adequately comprehend.

This went on for five years [usually stated to be fifteen], when once more he retired to a fastness or cave in the I-la Mountains [Hira, or Hera, a few miles west of Mecca]. After a while he emerged from the cave with a book in his hand, which, he told his wife and daughter [Fatima], was called Al-Koran, being the Book of God, lying on the judgment seat of God, who, perceiving the diversity of opinion amongst mankind, had dispatched the divine spirit *Kia-peï-ê-r* [the Angel Gabriel] to deliver it to him for the salvation of the world. "At first I did not understand, but the angel grasped me by the hair and dragged me about until I realized all its hidden meanings." Next day [? three years later] he gave a great feast to his relatives and friends, and, when excited with wine, related to them all the above experiences. There were as many unconvinced as believers, but his nephew [his cousin Ali] rose and said : "My uncle [cousin] has received a special commission from Heaven ; whichever of you takes adverse views, I will gouge out his eyes, and tear out his heart as punishment." The guests separated in silence, and ever after this the unbelievers

harboured hostile intent. Mahomet said: "I have received the commands of the God of Heaven: what can you do?" A powerful member of the State named Nga-mo [Omar], hearing of Mahomet's doings, seized his sword and went in pursuit of him, but meeting on the road an acquaintance of his named Hia-ying [query who], he was dissuaded or intimidated by the latter, and went instead to the house of his brother-in-law to see his sister, who, as a believer, was at that moment engaged in studying the Koran. She attempted to conceal it when she saw Omar coming in; but he wrested it from her under menace of the sword, and at once began to read it himself, as a sequel to which he also became a believer and a stanch proselyte: he proceeded to Mahomet's house, and was accepted as one of the disciples. Soon after that Mahomet's uncle [Abu Talêb] died, and then his own wife [Kadidja] died also. He set up a wail, saying: "There are only four perfect women in the world, of whom my wife and my daughter are two: now that my wife is dead, the world has lost one of its perfect women." At this moment there were only twelve genuine believers, but next year there were more, and Mahomet agreed with them on the following five prohibitions: (1) against villainy; (2) against adultery and lewdness; (3) against wilful murder of infants; (4) against believing in other religions, there being only one God; (5) against failing to rescue and support believers in time of stress. The people of his native village mostly hated him, and sought for opportunity to do him violence, in consequence of which Mahomet was often obliged to go into hiding, or to slink about for safety. One day, when he was fifty-two years of age, he announced to the multitude that the angel had paid him one more visit, had taken out and replaced his heart after washing it, and had conducted him to the seventh heaven, beside a tree, beyond which were seen four rivers encircling it: then he was conducted to the Palace of Heaven and the Divine Throne for audience with God, who commanded him to pray fifty times



a day, etc. The multitude believed all this. At this time Mahomet was living in Mecca, where those who wished to kill him were becoming daily more numerous, so he moved to Medina. This was on the fifteenth day of the seventh month of the Western Calendar, year 622, a date which marks the commencement of the Mussulman reckoning. After that his followers became numerous, and those who did not accept the teaching were attacked and killed, so that the faith was gradually spread, and Arabian political influence reached a great height. But he gave way to self-indulgence towards the end; he had about a dozen wives, besides innumerable concubines, even robbing other men of their wives for his own sensual ends. He died at the age of sixty-two, and was buried in Medina city. Every year thousands of the faithful go thither to pray.

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Another book on Islam that Mr. Shipway has sent me from Western China was printed at Ch'êng-tu in 1897, but the preface of the author, Ma An-li—an expectant official, native of Kwei Chou province—is dated January, 1879; in it a short account is given of the very few trustworthy Chinese authors of works on Islam. It includes a short rhapsody by one A-jih-fu, who seems from his name to be an Arab, or some other foreign Mussulman. The rhapsody in its Chinese form is the work of the above-mentioned Ma Fuh-ch'ü, who perished after the taking of Ta-li-Fu in 1874; he contributes a preface dated 1863, in which the idolatry of Buddhism and (the modern corrupt) Taoism is contrasted with the five principles of Islam—fasting, ablutions, prayer, repentance, and praise. Then follow a number of essays on comparative religion by A-jih-fu, who strains every effort to prove that the ancient monotheism of China was identical with Mahomet's conception of Islam, and that *Shang-ti* (the Emperor on High), which only later became *T'ien* (Heaven), was the Mussulman Allah. It was only in Confucius's era (say 500 B.C.) that the ancient

orthodox faith was encroached upon by philosophical doctrinaires, and finally lost ground in its competition (say A.D. 1) with Buddhism and (the later or corrupt) Taoism.

A-jih-fu gives a list of Moslem works or translations submitted to the Chinese Emperor in 1782. He has very little of historical value to say himself, and his critical capacity may be judged by the fantastical derivation he suggests for the term *hwei-tsz* universally applied in China to Moslems: he says it means *hwei*, "to return to," *tsz*, "the philosophers"; i.e., those who wish to revert to the good old orthodox philosophers, of whom Confucius became the representative. As regards the historical origin of Islam in China, he transfers to the founder of the Sui dynasty (reigned 581 to 604) the story of the vision and the arrival in China of Wakkass, the establishment of a mosque at Canton, and so on. He gives a third meaning to the word *Hiang* in describing the grave at that place, and makes it mean "fragrant," because the fragrancy of the soil has the power of healing sickness. These discrepancies simply have the effect of throwing further doubts upon the genuineness of either version.

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Finally comes a short account of the origin of Islam in China by Liu Chī, *alias* Liu Kiai-lien, who lived about two centuries ago under the second Emperor (K'ang-hi) of the present Manchu dynasty, and who is generally recognized as the first and best Chinese author on the Mussulmans. He says that Islam came to China through the *Hwei-hêh* (or Ouigour-Turk) State, which was then a sort of buffer State on the west confines of China, and on the east confines of the caliphate. He adds that during the Sung (960 to 1260) and Mongol (1260 to 1368) dynasties large numbers of Arabian scientists came to China, and, disliking the term *Hwei-hêh*, applied to all Mussulmans because they came *viâ* Ouigour land, and because the Ouigours themselves had become Mussulmans, had it changed to *Hwei-hwei*. The

meanings, good and bad, of the word *hwei* are, however, so numerous, according to context, that it is quite impossible to be sure of the sense which the adopters of that term, whoever they were, intended to imply.

The total result of our enquiry into what purely historical *data* the Chinese authors have to furnish upon the subject of Islam is that nothing much can be added to what the dynastic histories tell us, and the purport of that I have already published in my humble work, "China and Religion" (John Murray, 1905).

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There is one other piece of testimony that may be added to the above. In the year 1871, when the Viceroy Tso Tsung-t'ang was making his preparations for the capture of the Mussulman rebel stronghold of Suh Chow (Marco Polo's Succur), and for the subsequent annihilation of Yakub Beg's Andijan power in Urumtsi, Khoten, Kashgar, Yarkand, etc., he sent to the Emperor direct all the particulars he could glean from prisoners and local inhabitants about the Mahometans in China. He says "the Chinese Mussulmans of Kan Suh are of Western Tartar (Arab) origin, who, as it is clearly recorded in history, have from ancient times mixed freely, except so far as intermarriage is concerned, with the other inhabitants." He describes their traditional history from Adam down to Ersä (Jesus) "when their faith had its origin. Six hundred years later, during the Sui dynasty's reign-period, 581 to 600, Mahomet developed what was now known as the Purity-Truth Faith [the term still applied to mosques in China]. They themselves call it Heavenly Place Faith [evidently the ideas of *Paradise* and *Beitullah* are included in this], and they style the believers *Moslems*, after the founder, or, as some say, after Adam." Mahomet is said to have received the Heavenly Classic or Scripture (*i.e.*, the Koran) from Heaven. "Then there are two works [named] criticizing, expanding, and explaining the Koran by the Nanking Mussulman Liu Chi [above mentioned] of the Ming dynasty (which ended

in 1644), who gives the necessary Chinese literary touches to the subject. The main principle of their religion is 'knowing the Lord,' like our own *ming-sin kien-sing*, or 'searching of the heart and conscience'; and their chief aim in life is devotion, like our own *ch'i-wai yang-chung*, or 'introspection.' They have five leading maxims or duties: (1) reciting the Scripture; (2) thanksgiving for favours; (3) fasting; (4) disciplinary tasks; and (5) pilgrimages. Besides which they have five rules governing social intercourse. They recognize a week of seven days, and base their ideas upon the Lord of Heaven and Jesus' teaching, mixed up from time to time with Buddhist talk. They style us (Confucianists) the *ta-kiao* (great teaching), and their own religion the *siao-kiao* (or small teaching). They are not mere mischievous intriguers, and therefore they have managed to live in China for centuries quite promiscuously with our own people; not intermarrying, however, and adhering to their own customs and traditions, but at the same time not harbouring other disloyal thoughts: hence successive dynasties have tolerated them in our midst. No persecution of them is anywhere recorded to have taken place, and our present Manchu dynasty has even permitted them as officials to reach the highest civil and military ranks. In the Emperor K'ien-lung's time (1736 to 1795) the Viceroy of Nanking (1789) advised that they should not be allowed (in view of the Kan Suh Mussulman disputes which had then been brewing) to remain in China; but His Majesty very wisely reproved him for submitting such short-sighted counsel.

"In 1781 a certain Ma Ming-sin and one Su Sz-shih-san, returning from a visit (? a pilgrimage) to the West, gave out that they had secured some hitherto unpublished points of Arabian doctrine, and, basing their preaching upon this, they set up what was known as the 'new' or 'reformed' Islam. In 1784 this teaching was further promoted by an individual named T'ieh Wu. Despite the severe military measures adopted to quell these schismatic troubles in Kan

Suh, the danger was never quite eradicated. During the subsequent reign (1796 to 1820) the Akhoond Mahomet and one Ma Erh-fuh, father of the Ma Hwa-lung, who is now (1871) giving trouble, once more secretly preached the new faith, which is at present at the root of the dissensions, advantage of which has been taken by the Andijans to promote their own schemes of conquest at the expense of China. Various prisoners who have been interrogated assert that there are also new faith preachers to be found at the Ts'i-hwa Gate of Peking city; at Tientsin; in the Tsitsihar province of North Manchuria; and also at Kwan-ch'êng-tsz (*i.e.*, the present Russo-Japanese railway junction) in Kirin province; at Bantu (on the Yellow River north of Ordos); and at Hankow. These preachers are called (1) *hai-li-fei* (? *Khalifa*, or 'vicar'), like our teachers of the classics in China; or (2) *man-la* (*mollahs*), like our instructors; both, however, being subordinate to the *akhoonds*. Ma Hwa-lung called himself 'General Akhoond.' Their religion is quite like that of the old Mussulmans, except that, in reciting prayer, the Old join palms and turn the hands up, while the New hold them up without joining. The Old sit bold upright to recite; the New recite in unison, wagging their heads and shrugging their shoulders. The Old do not remove the shoes at funerals; the New do. None of these trifling points touch the essence of the religion, but none the less the New insist on separation from the Old, because they claim special inspiration for their views; and, besides that, talk much new nonsense about happiness and misery in the next world, thus humbugging foolish people very much in the way our White Lily Society does, not to mention our Purists, Quietists, Roundists, etc. Many prisoners insist that Ma Hwa-lung possesses the gift of prophecy, and the power to perform miracles, cure diseases, provide offspring, forgive sins, and so on." Tso Tsung-t'ang winds up his long memorial by recommending that proclamations should be issued in all cities of China where New Mussulmans are found, pro-

hibiting the new or reformed faith altogether; and he incidentally mentions that out of 2,000 Mussulmans in Tsitsihar, 100 belong to the New Faith. The Emperor's decree in reply runs: "As you seem to have already issued proclamations to this effect round about where you are, you had better be as inactive as possible in giving effect to them, and do not on any account issue any more. We don't care whether the people are Old or New, whether they are Mussulmans or ordinary Chinese, as long as they are good subjects. Remember that in 1789 the Nanking Viceroy Lêpao made the same proposal that you make, which my great-great-grandfather totally disapproved."

\* \* \* \* \*

I will now add a few final words of my own. In the winter of 1873 Tso Tsung-t'ang, aided by his lieutenants Kinshun (afterwards for a long time Tartar-General of Ili), Chang Yao (afterwards Governor of Shan Tung), and Sung K'ing (until 1900 in charge of the South Manchurian foreign-drilled troops), took Suh Chou by storm; massacred all but the women, old and young; and completely exterminated the rebel brood of Mussulman "perverts" and preachers in Western China. Tung Fuh-siang (of "Boxer" renown in 1900, and still living) was one of the rebels, but he went over to the Imperialists just in time to save his skin. Tso Tsung-t'ang now deliberately "sat down" to plant grain sufficient for supplies to pursue his conquering career further westward. Up to this point nearly every owner of food and provender had had to be conveyed in carts or by camel, mule, or coolie from North and Central China to the front, and it actually cost Taels 12 a hundred-weight (say £60 a ton) to convey supplies over the 1,560 *li* (500 miles) between Liang Chou and Ansi alone, not to speak of westwards of Ansi, and what it had already cost to reach Liang Chou. In 1877-1878, after the death of Yakub Beg, Tso Tsung-t'ang and his lieutenant Liu Kin-t'ang swept the whole of Kashgaria.

## COTTON IN BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

MR. G. CARPANETTI has just returned from the Equator after successfully planting certain kinds of cotton hitherto considered peculiar to Egypt, thus showing that British East Africa may be added to the regions within the Empire capable of emancipating us from the foreign grower.

The experiment may be said to have begun on January 13 of last year, when Mr. Carpanetti arrived at Kismayu, *viâ* Aden, and set about looking for a suitable site in the neighbourhood, spending two months over the task. The natives assured him that the rains would begin in the latter part of May, giving him time to put up a temporary dwelling, and to accustom the oxen to the plough; but the monsoon actually burst on April 10, before he had been able to do more than roughly clear a small patch of ground. Ploughing was thenceforward no longer to be thought of, and he was only able to get the surface of about twenty acres "scratched," as he puts it, with hoes; yet the cotton grew most luxuriantly in spite of this defective preparation and of the absence of artificial irrigation. The crop began to be ready after 120 days, whereas the same qualities take six months in Egypt; the plants covered the ground so thickly, moreover, that the last weeding had to be dispensed with, and this in spite of their being over 39 inches apart, instead of from 19 to 24 inches, as in the Egyptian fields. Mr. Carpanetti only remained on the spot during the first month of crop-taking, after which he entered upon his homeward voyage; but in that time he had already gathered 5,293 lb., or 264½ lb. per acre. The Associated Cotton Ginners of Egypt (Limited) reported upon his Metafi "full good fair," that it corresponded to the Metafi of Middle Egypt, and that it had yielded 105·27, while the Abbassi gave 101·98; the same kinds, it may be explained, hardly reach 100 at

home when irrigated. The fibre, too, was longer than that produced there, and showed more silkiness. The soil and climate proved to be as suitable for American long fibre as for the Egyptian qualities, and besides these a particularly fine hybrid Australian variety ("Caravonica") was tried. In the last case fibre  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long was produced, whereas the roots were able to make their way down to moisture, from the same seed that otherwise only gave 1 inch; an indication that the results obtained might be largely exceeded if artificial irrigation were substituted for the unreliable aid of rain-water, with which Mr. Carpanetti had for the moment to be content. Even as it is, however, he has obtained the certainty that the best paying kinds of cotton—he did not try any of the numerous cheap Indian, American, or Abyssinian qualities, the small margin of profit upon which hardly promised a sufficient reward for his trouble—will grow so satisfactorily in British East Africa as to make their cultivation a success. The dearth of labour is the most serious difficulty, for he fears that the winds might be prejudicial to the crop proved unfounded. Coolies must be brought from a distance, as the inhabitants, who get four crops a year off the land without putting themselves to any inconvenience whatever, cannot be got to see that there is any reason why they should work for hire. A solution favoured by Mr. Carpanetti is the importation of Abyssinians. This would at the same time furnish the country with a nucleus of good fighters, differing both in race and religion from the native, and would, therefore, form a valuable political check upon the latter.

It remains to be mentioned that Mr. Carpanetti, on his way home, went over the whole province of Zagazig, in Egypt, which exported about £4,000,000 worth of cotton in the past twelvemonth, and his examination confirmed him in the conviction that a far larger area of suitable land was available in the region of the Juba.



*The following is a Summary, prepared from a selection of the Reports made by the Director of the Imperial Institute, on the same subject.\**

Large areas of land in British East Africa possess a soil and climate well adapted to cotton cultivation. In the southern portions of the Protectorate cotton can be grown on non-irrigated land, but in the dry northern districts irrigation is necessary. During the year ending March 31, 1905, the area under cotton was estimated at 300 acres. A large increase is contemplated in the immediate future ; but the extension of the industry is hampered by lack of transport facilities, there being no direct service from Mombasa to England. A ginning plant has been sent recently to the Protectorate by the British Cotton Growing Association. Cotton is being grown at present principally in the Seyidie Province, but experiments are being made at various localities in other provinces. The Tana Valley and the Gosha District of Jubaland are stated to offer particularly good prospects. A seed farm has been established at Malindi.

Numerous samples of cotton from British East Africa, including "native," "Egyptian," "American upland," and "Sea Island" varieties, have been examined at the Imperial Institute, and it appears probable that, although the native cottons are of fair quality, the Egyptian varieties will give the best return. A description of some of these samples has been published in this *Bulletin*, 1905, No. 3, p. 139. A consignment of eighteen bales of brown Egyptian cotton, received at the Imperial Institute in 1905, was of promising quality, but was somewhat inferior to the brown cotton of Egypt, owing chiefly to irregularity in colour. The product was sold at 6½d. per pound, when "fully good fair" brown Egyptian was quoted at 8d. per pound. The crop from the Government farm at Malindi for the season 1904-5, consisting of 36 hundredweight of brown Egyptian cotton,

\* *Vide Bulletin of the Imperial Institute*, London, No. 4, vol. iv., 1906.

was sold in this country at prices ranging from 5¼d. to 7½d. per pound.

The amount of cotton exported in the year ending March 31, 1905, was 88,236 pounds, valued at £1,460.

During the present year several samples of cotton have been forwarded for examination by the Director of Agriculture and Forestry, Nairobi, and an account of the quality and value of these products is given below.

#### COTTON FROM MALINDI.

These samples were received in the form of seed cotton, and were ginned in the Department by means of a Platt's Macarthy gin. On examination they gave the results recorded in the table on p. 88.

It is evident from the tabulated results that the Sea Island cotton was of fair quality, but of irregular length. The presence of short fibres in long-stapled cottons causes a considerable diminution in their commercial value. Further experiments will be necessary before it can be definitely established that Sea Island cotton can be grown satisfactorily in British East Africa, as this crop readily suffers deterioration under changed conditions.

The four samples of Egyptian cotton were generally of fair quality, but were not equal to the standard sample of "Mitafifi" cotton with which they were compared. The colour was uneven in every case, and the fibre showed a tendency to become white. Many of the seeds were withered, and showed signs of the attack of insect pests. A number of insects bearing a strong resemblance to the "cotton stainer" (*Oxycarenus hyalinipennis*) were found dead in the samples. Several small reddish grubs, about 0.25 inch long, were present alive in the seeds, upon which they were apparently feeding. The presence of the empty husks caused the samples to give a larger percentage yield of cotton on ginning than would otherwise have been obtained. Samples Nos. 4 and 5 were somewhat inferior to Nos. 2 and 3 in lustre and colour, but resembled them

	1 From Malindi.	2 From Malindi.	3 From Malindi.	4 From Sala Maneru, West.	5 From Malindi.
Number or mark of sample	"Sea Island cotton. Sown May 1 to 19, 1905. Picked Oc- tober."	"Affi cotton. Sown March 24, 1905. Picked September and October."	"Affi cotton. Sown April 20 to 30, 1905. Picked Novem- ber 28."	"Affi cotton from May, 1904, sowing. Plants cut down to 1 foot from ground in March, 1905. Picked December 8."	"Affi cotton from 1904 sowing. Sown May, 1905. Picked De- cember 4."
Description	Unginned, clean	Unginned, clean	Unginned, slightly "leafy"	Unginned, fairly clean	Unginned, fairly clean
<i>Lint</i>	Soft and silky, lustrous, pale cream to white; generally free from stains. Yield on gin- ning, 28 per cent. Easily detachable from seed	Soft, lustrous, pale red- dish-brown to white. Yield on ginning, 35 per cent. Easily detachable from seed	Soft, fairly lustrous, pale reddish-brown to white. Yield on ginning, 35 per cent. Easily detachable from seed	Soft, lustrous, uneven, light reddish-brown colour; small por- tion white. Yield on ginning, 37 per cent. Easily detachable from seed	Soft, fairly lustrous, un- even colour, reddish- brown to white; oc- casional dark brown stains. Yield on gin- ning, 35 per cent. Easily detachable from seed
<i>Seed</i>	Small, smooth, dark brown to black, with greyish-brown tufts	Small, smooth, dark brown, with brown or green tufts	Small, smooth, dark brown, with green- ish-brown tufts	Small, smooth, dark brown, with small greenish-brown tufts	Small, smooth, brown, usually with green- ish - brown tufts; sometimes not tufted, but spiked
Strength	Good	Normal	Normal	Normal	Fairly good
Length of fibres	Mostly 1'5 to 2'1 inches. Some about 1 inch	Generally 1'0 to 1'5 inches	1'1 to 1'4 inches	1'0 to 1'5 inches	0'9 to 1'4 inches
Diameter of fibres	Average, 0'0006 inch. Variation, 0'0004 to 0'0011 inch	Average, 0'0007 inch. Variation, 0'0004 to 0'0010 inch	Average, 0'0007 inch. Variation, 0'0004 to 0'0010 inch	Average, 0'0007 inch. Variation, 0'0004 to 0'0008 inch	Average, 0'0007 inch. Variation, 0'0004 to 0'0008 inch
Microscopical characters	Fine and fairly regular, but a small propor- tion of immature fibres present	Regular and generally mature	Regular and generally mature	Regular and generally mature	Regular and fully mature
Commercial value*	About 9d. per pound	About 6d. per pound	About 5½d. per pound	About 5½d. per pound	About 5d. per pound

\* On the date of these valuations, "fancy" Georgia Sea Island cotton was quoted at 10½d. per pound, and "fully good fair" brown Egyptian at 8½d. per pound.

in other respects. It is interesting to note that these cottons, although of the second year's growth, were nevertheless of fair quality, and but little inferior to those of the first season. If, however, the yields are much smaller, the plan of collecting a second year's crop is, of course, inadvisable. In order that Egyptian cotton may be grown in British East Africa, of a quality equal to that of the cotton grown in Egypt, great care will be required in the purchase and selection of seed for sowing, and in the general cultivation and harvesting.

## COTTON FROM GOLBANTI.

*Results of Examination.*

	1.	2.	3.
Number or mark of sample	"American cotton grown on the Tana alluvial soil"	"Afri cotton grown on the Tana alluvial soil"	"Afri cotton grown on the high red soil of the Tana Valley"
Description ...	Ginned; fairly clean, but contained some leaf fragments and crushed seed  Soft, fairly lustrous, cream to white, with occasional yellow or brown stains	Ginned, clean, soft, fairly lustrous, pale reddish-brown, with some dark brown stains	Ginned; fairly clean, but contained some leaf fragments and crushed seed  Soft, fairly lustrous, uneven, pale reddish-brown colour, with some yellow stains
Strength ...	Poor	Normal	Normal
Length of fibres	0.9 to 1.2 inches	1.0 to 1.5 inches	1.0 to 1.5 inches
Diameter of fibres	Average, 0.0008 inch. Variation, 0.0005 to 0.0012 inch	Average, 0.0007 inch. Variation, 0.0004 to 0.0011 inch	Average, 0.0007 inch. Variation, 0.0004 to 0.0010 inch
Microscopical characters	Fairly regular, but a small proportion of immature fibres present	Regular and generally mature	Mostly regular and mature
Commercial value*	About 5½d. per pound	About 6d. per pound	5½d. per pound

\* On the date of these valuations, "middling" American cotton was quoted at 6.07d. per pound, and "fully good fair" brown Egyptian at 8½d. per pound.

The sample (No. 1) of American cotton was deficient in strength, and would consequently prove somewhat wasteful in manufacture. The commercial value of the cotton was also diminished by the presence of stains. The Egyptian cottons (samples Nos. 2 and 3) were of fair quality, and, although somewhat lacking in lustre, were fine and generally mature. Both samples were inferior to the standard

## COTTON FROM MAZERAS FARM, MAKINDU, AND NGAO.

## Results of Examination.

Number or mark of sample	1			2	
	From Mazeras Farm.	From Makindu.	From Makindu.	From Makindu.	From Ngaio, Tana River.
Description	<p>"No. M. 1, Sea Island cotton from Mazeras Farm."</p> <p>Ginned; contained a considerable quantity of leaf fragments and crushed seed</p> <p>Soft, fairly lustrous, cream-coloured, with some brown and yellow stains</p> <p>Very poor</p> <p>1'2 to 2'1 inches</p> <p>Average, 0'0006 inch. Variation, 0'0004 to 0'0009 inch</p> <p>Fine, somewhat irregular, and not fully mature</p> <p>About 9d. per pound</p> <p>The presence of broken, withered seed indicated the attack of some insect pest.</p> <p>The low value of the cotton was due to its weakness and poor colour. The immature cotton present would lead to an abnormal amount of waste in manufacture</p>	<p>"No. M. 2, Egyptian cotton from "Makindu, first year crop"</p> <p>Ginned; contained leaf fragments and crushed seed</p> <p>Fairly soft, of rather poor lustre; colour uneven, light brown to white, with dark brown and yellow stains</p> <p>Poor</p> <p>Mostly 0'9 to 1'3 inches</p> <p>Average, 0'0008 inch. Variation, 0'0005 to 0'0011 inch</p> <p>Partly immature</p> <p>About 6d. per pound</p> <p>These cottons were both of poor quality, but the second year's growth was superior to that of the first year. The presence of crushed, hollow, withered seeds indicated the attack of some insect pest</p>	<p>"No. M. 3, Egyptian cotton from Makindu, from second year's growth"</p> <p>Ginned; fairly clean, but contained some crushed seeds</p> <p>Soft, fairly lustrous, light reddish-brown, with many stains</p> <p>Fairly good</p> <p>Mostly 1'1 to 1'4 inches</p> <p>Average, 0'0007 inch. Variation, 0'0005 to 0'0010 inch</p> <p>Regular and generally mature</p> <p>About 6½d. per pound</p>	<p>"No. M. 4, Excelsior, American. Sown in April, 1905; picked in November"</p> <p>Ginned; clean, but contained some leaf fragments</p> <p>Soft, lustrous, of uneven pale cream colour, with some brown or yellow stains</p> <p>Fairly good</p> <p>0'9 to 1'4 inches, but mostly about 1'1 inches</p> <p>Average, 0'0008 inch. Variation, 0'0006 to 0'0010 inch</p> <p>Regular and fully mature</p> <p>6½d. per pound</p> <p>This cotton was of very good quality, and would be readily saleable</p>	
Strength ...	...	...	...	...	...
Length of fibres ...	...	...	...	...	...
Diameter of fibres	...	...	...	...	...
Microscopical characters	...	...	...	...	...
Commercial value *	...	...	...	...	...
Remarks	...	...	...	...	...

\* On the date of these valuations, "fancy" Florida Sea Island was quoted at 12'5d. per pound, "fully good fair" brown Egyptian at 9½d. per pound, and "middling" American at 6'16d. per pound.

"Mitafifi" cotton, with which they were compared. Sample No. 2 was superior to sample No. 3 in being more lustrous, of better colour, and less stained. It is evident, therefore, that the plants grown on the better soil gave the most satisfactory results.

It should be pointed out that insufficient care had been taken in ginning these samples, many crushed seeds being present which would tend to stain the cotton.

## THE "AHUNA-VAIRYA" AND THE LÓGOS.

BY PROFESSOR L. MILLS, D.D., OXFORD.

FEW indeed of our active theologians now living have not seen the perhaps still somewhere accredited assertion that the ideas in the Philonian-Johanian *Lógos*, as strikingly mentioned in the first chapter of St. John's Gospel, were in some way indebted to the "Ahuna-vairya" of the Zend Avesta, the piece being more generally known as the "Hōnōver," an abbreviation.

There used to be scarcely even a semi-critical work upon the Gospels which did not allude to the point ; one remembers even popular commentaries having their "say" in the matter.

Such gentlemen also as the Editors of the late very able quarterly the *New World*, unhappily now discontinued, took a keen, if incipient, interest in it, as well, indeed, they might. Issues of immense bearing, of course, hang upon the question of the suggested Medo-Persian origin of our Exilic Pharisaic orthodoxy and eschatology. There is, therefore, no serious person anywhere who would not urgently press upon any specialist the duty of making known, so far as it lay within his power, every item of exploited literary fact which could be made to bear upon such a theme.

Among other earlier annotators who have taken most decided grounds upon the general question, affirming the wide and dominating prevalence of Persian ideas in the Exilic and Christian eschatologies, have been Matter, writing upon the *Gnosis*, second edition, 1843 ; Dr. Deutsch, in his distinguished essay in the *Quarterly* of some fifty years ago, which made him the lion of a London season\* ; Oppert, 1861, etc. ; while the more pointed

\* He stated that the Exilic Jewish doctrine was largely influenced from outside, "notably by Zoroastrianism."

and practical application of it comes lately from the very distinguished Professor Haeckel, who would even check our too fervent hopes of immortality itself by alluding to the view that it came solely from Persia. The points, if at all seriously considered, are therefore of the first moment, and, in the opinion of one of the ablest of our German-American editors, they will soon become a *burning question* in every theological school. Beyond all doubt, devout persons numbered by the millions submissively receive the great doctrine just named, together with its accompanying particulars, on the faith of an immediate Divine inspiration of its source, and this among the Semitic people of Israel; and if they should indeed become at all fully convinced that the entire system came from another, and an unauthorized, because uninspired, quarter, the result might be no less than disastrous for the continuance and still further spread of our now prevailing Christian creeds—at least, in their historic view of the other life.

I happen to be exceptionally prepared at the present moment\* to add a few ideas on the question, and, as there is nothing more practically pointed in all Orientalism, I proceed to cite only one of them, that which appears in the heading.

I have, of course, been bound in honour to re-work up the subject from every available point of view, and I may report at once my conclusion that the once widespread opinion that the Hōnōver was in any serious sense the immediate original of the Philonian-Johanian *Lógos* is totally erroneous.

The suggestion came indeed from an eminent source. Oppert, I believe, first brought it popularly forward, and we should be indebted to him for it, as it has awakened a necessary and important discussion; for many indeed are the incisive ideas, bound to be at last proved in themselves

\* I have just delivered the first one of twenty-one articles owed by me on engagement to a prominent dictionary of religion, and this first one is upon the Ahunaver.



to be untenable, which have yet been destined to be one day stated, and which have, indeed, proved to have been indirectly the source of the utmost conceivable critical and practical service, and this is a principle first of all recognized in our fatherland of learning. It is the stirring (*regsammer*) mind which advances research. And so Oppert, as I sincerely hold, while he made a great error in this particular suggestion, yet engaged here in a discussion which may, like all similar contentions, with its advanced proposals honestly meant, have, as with the axe of the "pioneer," opened once more for us a new and profitable road into the forest of future Orientalistic discovery. Let me not be misunderstood. I have no wish whatsoever to put in a sinister word, pointed to retard the progress of opinion propagated in an advanced direction, myself acting, as it were, in the interests of a false conservatism. There is, and there was, in fact, matter of exact truth lurking in the erroneous idea of the great Jewish Frenchman, and the startling inference supposed to be legitimately drawn from it was, indeed, one which finds its parallel in a view still considered by many distinguished writers to be sound. Perhaps a large majority of all the critical searchers who have investigated the *Iranian Question* are of the opinion that many of the most valuable portions of even the so-called pre-Exilic Semitic Scriptures contain Exilic matter of an unmistakable character, while those parts which have been fully recognized as Exilic are seen plainly to take on the lead in the enunciation of the most precious doctrines of our modern faiths. But the earlier or late *predominance* of the Medo-Persian system in the vast Empire which was its home does not in any sense carry with it the conviction of its *exclusive originality*, as does not even its final sway within the Israelitish nation. It was precisely in view of this issue that I was personally requested by the well-known Rev. Dr. C. H. H. Wright to add an appendix to his valuable, if somewhat ultra-conservative, book on Daniel (see "Daniel and its Critics,"

Appendix IV., 1906). I there firmly refused to accede to the view that Persian or Babylonian associations necessarily gave the first originating impulse to the new spiritual religious life of the Jewish Tribes, holding, as I did, that it arose from the disciplinary effects of the afflictions of the people under their captivity, for this re-awakened and redoubled their enthusiastic zeal for the cultivation of such of their ancient Scriptures as then still survived to them, and the more so as they were cut off from the more external consolations of their Temple service; but I endeavoured fully to recognize the immense *supervening influence* of the Medo-Persian creeds as corroborating the original Jewish thoughts in the chief all-important particulars, which were no less than "Immortality" itself, with "Resurrection," "Forensic Judgment," "Chiliasm," "Paradise" (by the way, a Persian word), "Heaven" and "Hell"; and to that opinion, as I need hardly say, I still adhere. Yet corroboration, firm support, co-operative coadjutation, vivification, expansion, wider promulgation, vitally influential as indeed these particulars are each and all severally supposed to be as elements of energetic force for the instilling of organic life into an incipient system, they are yet still not one of them *origination*!\* And so I hold, as regards the Hōnōver containing, as it does, integral elements, in the imposing Medo-Persian scheme; for these elements, which are, however, not so very incisively expressed in this Hōnōver, may, indeed—nay, they must—have exerted more or less directly the same supervening influence in the progressive developments of the Exilic doctrine which the other ideal forces in the Avesta exerted upon it. And this is, of course, a matter of the gravest moment; but the proposal that the Hōnōver had anything directly to do with the point of the *Lógos* in St. John's Gospel brings up an entirely separate question in the detail of the investigation, and one of a very marked and incisive character.

If the Hōnōver materially and directly influenced that

\* Save as regards "Chiliasm" and "Paradise," which were wholly Persian.

"Word which was in the beginning with God," then indeed we have a point of considerable magnitude in the history of the Christian religious philosophy, and many schools would become affected. But my argument to the contrary is of the shortest possible description. I will not urge that Yasna XIX. may have been written so late as a century or more after St. John's Introduction, as it is commentary matter, and may naturally be assigned to a later date; for we must also here postulate predecessors to both the Hōnōver and the *in principio*, as in regard to all similar compositions we are forced to do. And these forerunners of the Hōnōver may—if, indeed, they must not inevitably—have contained analogous expressions bearing also some likeness, through parallel development, to the *Lógos* of Philo and St. John; but what I do emphatically urge as an absolute refutation of any direct influence of the Hōnōver upon the Philonian-Johanian *Lógos*, as expressed in the Fourth Gospel, is the notorious fact that Philo's *Lógos* was, in its scientific aspects, *entirely Greek*.

Zeller, indeed, remarks that his—Philo's—*Lógos* doctrine was the *in principio* "Jewish in a Greek dress," but perhaps that expression might be modified, though emanating from such an illustrious source. He—Philo—undoubtedly often reverted to such expressions as that "the heavens were made by the *Word of the Lord*, and all the hosts of them by the *breath of His mouth*;" but he endeavoured to represent this "Word" as being analogous to the *Lógos*, so that it seems difficult to see that his elaborately worked-up Greek *Lógos* was a mere form of "foreign dress." Philo was always, of course, at heart passionately at Jew, and he wished to bring in all his literary results to bear upon the glory of his race in their inspired Scriptures,\* and beyond all question fragments of the Persian lore reached him in his Greek. Egypt through the Persian-Babylonian Talmuds, as well as in the

\* Though Siegfried has approximately proved that he was rusty upon his Hebrew, having lived in an atmosphere of Greek (see "Philo von Alexandria als Ausleger des Alten Testaments," 1875).

Exilic canonical Scriptures, which two were, each of them, doubtless much fuller in extent of literary matter than, at the time of Philo, than the masses of them which have till now survived to us of the present day. And these fragments doubtless contained many elements which appeared or reappeared in the Hönöver, or in documents now lost, which were of a similar description; and these must certainly have exercised a *supervening influence* upon Philo's mind, as well as upon that of every other individual present in Egypt or Jerusalem at the time, who at all concerned himself practically with such reflections. And to corroborate this we have only to turn to our Exilic Bibles, flooded as they are everywhere with Iranian ideas, and where we are especially arrested at the remarks about the "anointed Cyrus" and his Biblical successors; but that this Persian lore penetrated to him—Philo—in such force as to affect his *Lógos* seems to me to be impossible. That anything Persian could have penetrated to the *Academeia* to such a degree as to pointedly influence Plato's *Lógos* or *nous* is, of course, absurd,\* and that these analogous Iranian concepts came in upon Philo with such an effect as to mould his view of this, his Greek ideal, seems to me to be equally ridiculous. The man was not only attracted, but actually taken possession of, by his Athenian master. He could not even *think* Judaism without thinking Plato too, though we cannot bar the *vice versa*; and this was so notorious, that it was common talk among the Greek Platonics for a century or more: *Πλάτων φιλονίξει, ἡ Φίλων πλάτωναίει* ("Phot. Biblioth.," lxxxvi., b. 26).

\* For a detailed discussion of the entire question, see my book "Zarathushtra, Philo, the Achæmenids, and Israel," vol. i. This can now be had of the Open Court Publishing Company, as well as from F. A. Brockhaus in Leipzig.

## THE HINDU IDEAL OF WOMANHOOD.

By T. RAMA KRISHNA.

RULES of conduct and principles of life for observance by the Hindu are so closely woven with his religion to secure permanency that it has often occasioned the remark that between his "customs and religion no line of distinction can be drawn." The Hindu religion, it is said, is not in reality a religion, but a compound of innumerable beliefs. There is religion in his waking up from slumber early morning to see the sun, religion in his daily bath and food, religion in his study, and in the beginning of discipleship under his master—in fact, in every stage of his life. In religion he lives, moves, and has his being. He is extremely conservative, and the rules of conduct and principles of life are difficult of obliteration when they have the stamp of hoary traditions and religious binding nature attached to them. This holds good nowhere so forcibly as in the Hindu ideal of womanhood. And in the structure of that ideal a religion has been found for the woman to follow it faithfully and rigidly, which would secure for her the wish of her heart, to live a long life of married state, and die as a wife—that is, predecease the husband. The greatest of the South Indian poets says: "The woman that worships not God, but her husband, when such an one says, 'Let there be rain,' it descends." Here is a religion given to the woman to follow, a faith to observe, quite in accordance with the genius of the nation, which in each of its component parts and states of life requires in the matter of religion an individuality and speciality to faithfully follow and take pride in. Milton's ideal has a close resemblance when he speaks of Adam and Eve:

"He for God only; she for God in him."

Such is the belief instilled into every Hindu girl before

she becomes a wife, and a wife she should become. Marriage is binding on her, and no woman is said to fulfil the conditions of the ideal, until and unless she goes through the marriage rites and performs her duties as a married woman. And marriage is a sacrament, a union sanctified in the presence of God before the sacrificial fire, and not a civil contractual relationship.

The first and most important commandment which the Hindu woman is bound to obey is : "Thou shalt have no other lord but thy husband." She shall not marry another, either while he lives or after. If her lot be cast with an unworthy husband, she must bow to the inevitable. If the husband by accident becomes permanently maimed or subject to some loathsome disease, the partner of his joys and woes as well must cheerfully accept the new condition in the spirit of the teaching of her religion. If the husband predeceases the wife, she must face the new situation with a courageous heart, and remain to pray day and night for the repose of his soul, or if, unable to bear the pang of separation, she wishes to wilfully ascend the funeral pyre to be consumed to ashes with her dead husband, her religion allows her to do so. But such an extreme step was purely voluntary, and never was made compulsory. The writer of "Indian Affairs" in the *Times* has missed his mark when he wrote of the "wretched woman" occasionally seeking "in death an escape from present affliction and a miserable widowhood." "Miserable widowhood"! But ask the widow, who cheerfully bears her condition, and she will give another answer. "What will you do after I am gone?" asked a husband of his wife in the early years of the nineteenth century, the husband, who occupied an honourable position among Hindus in Madras. "I do not wish to entertain the thought," replied the wife—"the thought of surviving you. However, if it be so ordained, I will not cross the threshold of this house; this sacred edifice, where you and I spent these years of blessed married life, shall be my only world to live in. I will

convert it into a little shrine, from which prayers would go forth daily for your sake. I will eat but one meal a day, just enough to satisfy the cravings of hunger, and spend my time in thinking of you." It so happened that the husband predeceased the wife, and the widow kept her word. Then commenced the romance of her life. With the fifty pagodas\* pension conferred on her by the East India Company for services rendered by her husband, she soon had an image cast in gold of the deity of the temple which she and her husband frequented, converted a portion of the house into a little shrine, installed the image there, and had all the daily worship and festivals performed there, giving what else remained with her to the poor and needy, and taking care not to cross the threshold of the house. She lived this life for nearly fifty years, this life which was gratifying to her, observing rigidly the rites which her religion enjoined her to perform. It so happened that her only sister, living a few houses off in the same street, was taken seriously ill. In her last moments the sick sister expressed a desire to see the widow. No; she could not cross the threshold of her house. The sick woman passed away with the name of her sister on her lips in her dying moments. And when the bier passed the street on the way to the cremation-ground, the bearers stopped awhile opposite to the house of the sorrowing widow, who came and stood at the threshold of the house—but, of course, not crossing it—and gazed intently upon the face of her lying lifeless on the bier, when a solitary tear stole from her eye; straightway repressing her grief, and gaining control of herself, she passed inside, and the bier moved on. It was a most distressing sight, and those who witnessed it in that awful moment remembered it most vividly all their lives. To this widow, then, this living was fascinating enough. Her widowhood was not miserable to her, but had an intensity and passionateness which made life worth living. Voluntary immolation on the funeral pyre of the husband

\* About £12.

was of frequent occurrence before Lord William Bentinck's suppression of it; it is of rare occurrence now, no doubt, on account of the Act. In olden times the tendencies of thought and feeling gave an impetus to the doing of such deeds. Those times were more romantic, and influenced the minds of women more readily than times modern, when thoughts and feelings have changed according to the altered circumstances of the country, and women think it more noble to live and endure, and serve better their departed husbands according to the ideal set before them. The exemplary life which the late Queen Victoria led had the cordial approval of her Indian subjects, and it enhanced their admiration for her, and the women of India regarded her more as one of them than of the people of the far-off island, whose modes of life they have become familiar with from those of them sojourning in this land.

This devotion to the departed husband is not confined to the widow only. It is expected in the wife, even in circumstances of unnatural conduct on the part of the living husband. He may spurn her, care not for her; still, she should not only bow to her lord without a demur, but be loyal to him. Said the South Indian poet: "If the husband should act so as to be the laughing stock of every one, the woman nobly born knows no other than him to whom she was wedded." The story of Nala and Damayanti is familiar to English readers. Damayanti was deserted by the husband in the forest in the middle of the night while she was fast asleep, and left there alone to take care of herself. In the case of Harischandra, he sold away his wife, King though he was, to a hard taskmaster, and showed no sympathy in that hour of her sorest need, when their only son was dead.\* And still the loyalty of these two Indian women to their husbands was unbounded. As to Nalayani, the good and faithful wife of her leper husband, what difficulties she suffered, what trials she went through

\* For a full account of this story, see my "Life in an Indian Village," chap. xii. (T. Fisher Unwin, London):



in tending him affectionately and guarding him with the utmost vigilance, denying comfort and rest to her wearied body, are they not related in the songs of every tongue in the land? Although the daughter of a king, she performed her wifely duties without the least disgust, and took a noble pride in doing this humble service to her lord in sickness. This loyalty consists in being true and faithful to the husband, and remaining spotless and untarnished to receive back the sullied but penitent husband, who comes to her after all the bitter experiences of life to find at home peace of mind and rest to the conscience; aye, in being faithful to him after he is gone, and guarding his name most zealously. The story of the South Indian woman who was extremely keen about the good name of her departed husband may not be familiar to English readers, and I make no apology for recounting it here. A thousand years ago, in deadly battle between two powerful kings of Southern India, some of the soldiers of the routed army came running from the battlefield to take refuge in their homes. "What became of my son who went to fight with you?" said the mother to one of them. "He was in the thickest of the fight," replied the soldier, "but I do not know whether he fell or ran away." The mother concluded that her son must either have fallen on the field of battle or run away to some other place of safety, for fear of being chided at home by the mother for cowardice, and disowned by her if he returned. Then, taking a sharp knife, she ran to the field of battle, determined to cut away her breast if she did not find him there dead or mortally wounded, in which case he must have run away with the rest. She was certain that in that case the son's cowardice must have been acquired from the milk which he sucked from that breast, and not inherited from her brave husband. At last she was overjoyed to find the worthy son of her husband lying dead on the field of battle gored with wounds, and her husband's name preserved from eternal stain. Such is the spirit of devotion of the Indian woman to her

husband ; and a Dutch writer, Dr. Van Limburg Brewer, has indeed caught the spirit of the Hindu ideal in his romance of "Akbar" better than the writer of the *Times* article. When the suggestion was made to the heroine Iravati to bestow her affections on Akbar's son, Prince Selim, afterwards better known as Emperor Jehangir, when she had clear proofs of her husband's faithlessness, the brave Hindu girl made answer : " Our women know nothing of the temptations of greatness where duty and honour are concerned, and to their husband they remain faithful, even if their love is repaid by treachery. There are no bounds to the loyalty of a woman to her husband ; and you know, though you may consider it only the consequence of superstition or exaggerated feeling, with what willing enthusiasm they will throw themselves on the burning pyre that consumes the body of their dead husbands. You must have heard of our holy legends and heroic traditions, which describe the devotion of a wife to one unworthy of her. Doubtless the touching adventure of Damayanti must have come to your ears. Well, as far as in me lies, I will be another Damayanti. Sidha has deserted me, but when he awakes from this enchantment he will return another Nala, and find me pure from any spot, and acknowledge that I knew better than he how to watch over the honour of his name."

If any condition of life be considered low or miserable, it is because the poetry of it has not been written. It is Emerson that wrote in this strain. And how could poetry be written unless there is the living reality to draw the inspiration from ? In truth, there is no condition of life in God's world that is low or miserable. The meanness or the misery is not in the life, but in him who lives that life, who, by importing higher thoughts and nobler passions into that life, makes it really divine. If you wish to know what that life is, go to the land, to the homes of the women who bear their pleasures with calmness and their difficulties with fortitude and dignity, hear them sing of the sorrows

of Damayanti and Chandramathi, the trials of Nalayaui and the troubles of Savithri, and note with what evident satisfaction and pride women similarly placed bear their condition.

The next great condition in that ideal is implicit obedience to the husband. She must obey the husband in whatever he commands her to do. If he requires her to taste of the forbidden poison, which brings on death, she is bound to obey, for disobedience brings all woe and sin into the home—her little world. Woman is born to serve, and not to rule; to obey, and not to command; to be dependent, and not to be independent of the husband. Like the tender creeper, entwining the mighty tree to beautify it with its flowers, and emitting fragrance all round, she is born to shine in the household, to add dignity and grace to life, and give perfume to the ideal household; to assist the husband, to make life pleasant, and make a little heaven of his home. To be obedient is to be good. To be obedient is to be chaste. To be obedient is to be divine. She must resign herself entirely to the will of her husband, for it is better to serve in heaven than reign in hell.

Such is the Hindu ideal of womanhood, and well was it understood by a Hindu girl when her Brahmin preceptor asked his pupils as to their future ambitions in life. "I wish to marry the king," said one of them, "and shine as a queen among the daughters of the land." Another, more intellectual, perhaps, than the rest of her sisters, answered: "I wish to marry the minister of the country, and be a true helpmate to him in governing the people wisely and well." A third said: "I wish to be the wife of the general of the army, to put on his armour when he takes leave of me to go to the field of battle, and receive him back with pride and pleasure when he returns home crowned with success." But the little heroine, when her turn came, answered: "I wish to be the good wife at home, to be the queen of my house, the friend and counsellor of

my husband, and the general of my little household troop." In this short answer is summed up the poet's ideal of

"A perfect woman, nobly planned,  
To warn, to comfort, and command."

Supposing an up-to-date English girl were asked about her ambition in life, how different would be her answer! She would like to become a Member of Parliament, a senior wrangler, or an accomplished athlete. It is this tendency in modern life that made "Rita" deplore: "The intrusion of women into every active or intellectual sphere has broken down much of the reserve and reverence of sex for sex. They hail each other equals, and often rivals. But they no longer seem to feel that imperative need of each other which leads to marriage; in fact, marriage is becoming a tabooed institution, and maternity an evasion, instead of an obligation." This, if true, reveals an awkward state of things. Why, if the woman were to work with man in the sphere which is legitimately his, the world would be richer in its thoughts, in its stock of knowledge, and richer in material acquirements. But oh! how much poorer would it be in the softer and sweeter side of its life! There would be less of passion and feeling, less of romance and poetry. Chivalry would be gone, sentiment divorced altogether from the world, and the prosaic dulness of life laid bare in all its dryness; and perhaps another kind of chivalry forced into existence, where women would go forth armed with the bow and the arrow, or the sword, or even the modern pistol, to avenge the wrong done to weak man. Science would then try hard to find ways and means for women to bring forth children free from the burden of pregnancy and the pains of travail. Then the bearded lady of Barnum's would be no more a freak of nature, but a common enough sight for women to found an argument upon for poaching on man's reserves, exciting no wonder or surprise; and women would be found vying with men in lecture-rooms and University halls, in the councils of the

Empire, and even on the battlefields of the world. But I do not wish to look on this picture, which is foreign to my subject, but only look on that picture of the Hindu ideal of womanhood. The Hindu marriage system has its dark spots, no doubt, notably that part of it which allows man to marry another wife when his wife begets no children or when she dies. Even here man has admitted himself to be the inferior to the woman, and has ranked himself with a lower order of the human kind. He took care to keep her at the highest. He expects from her a higher order of human virtue, purity, and love. And to this high and hard ideal set up our women in all ages have willingly bowed. "In that ideal a higher place is assigned to the woman than to the man. The same principle we see in modern times in the view we take of great men, whom we set up as models to follow and admire. An unpardonable defect in a man of the ordinary type is treated as of no avail, while perhaps a pardonable weakness in a leader of society is magnified into a great vice. Although vulgar man feels he is not able to attain a high standard of morality, he is, nevertheless, very fastidious in exacting it of the great men of his country, and to them he willingly bows. He venerates them. So we have done with the woman. We expect from her a greater degree of human excellence. A woman with character pure and unsullied is a more lovable being than a man with similar traits of character in him. Man may err. Woman, she must never. She must be perfection. All the beauty, attractiveness, charm, and grace in human character are centred in the woman. There is a divinity breathing through it all. There is a halo of sacredness ever surrounding her person."\*

The generalizations of Western thinkers have often failed to embrace the whole field coming within the scope of their inquiry ; and states and conditions of human life

\* *Vide* my romance of "Padmini" (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., London).

there are which may not apply to them. The civilization of the subtle East is a subject so vast and complex, often misleading, and at times apparently inconsistent with the genius of its people, that any attempt to generalize may not, after all, be found entirely satisfactory. There is more of imagination and feeling in the Indian world and less of the practical side of life. Hegel has, indeed, recognized a beauty in that world, but he compares it to "that beauty of a peculiar kind in women, in which their countenance presents a transparency of skin, a light and lovely roseate hue, which is unlike the complexion of mere health and vital vigour—a more refined bloom, breathed as it were by the soul within—and in which the features, the light of the eye, the position of the mouth, appear soft, yielding, and relaxed." He adds that "this almost unearthly beauty is perceived in women in those days which immediately succeed childbirth. Should we look at it more closely, and examine it in the light of human dignity and freedom, the more attractive the first sight of it had been, so much the more unworthy shall we ultimately find it in every respect."\*

Applying these broad generalizations of this keen German critic to this aspect of the Indian world, in its conception of the ideal of womanhood, which I have tried to describe in these pages, let the reader judge whether it has the beauty of enervation to be admired to-day and forgotten on the morrow, or whether, in the actual realities of present-day life, it stands to-day strong and unimpaired, as it stood ages ago, in spite of the many vicissitudes through which the country has passed.

\* "Lectures on the Philosophy of History."

## THE ZILL-ES-SULTAN.

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. C. YATE.

AND so the "Zill," as he was erst familiarly termed in Anglo-Persian circles, has vacated his government of Ispahan, after a tenure of thirty-eight years. The name brings back to me a good few memories, now almost buried in oblivion: the sailing from Karachi in May, 1881, in the teeth of a south-west monsoon, followed by the crushing heat of the Persian Gulf, endured amid the squalor, unrelieved even by a morsel of ice, of a coasting steamer; then the ride from Bushire by night across the stifling plain into the hills, which mount, tier by tier, to the plateau of Shiraz, and so to Ispahan. If the journey had its hardships, it had its charms; and it is by its charms and interests that I recall it. The ripple of the tiny streams, overhung by walnut, plum, cherry, and apricot trees, high up in the Persian mountains, still sounds sweetly and coolly in my ear, thankful as I then was to escape even for a few hours from the scorching heat of the plains of the great Kavir. We reached Ispahan after a four days' ride from Shiraz. We rode from earlier than early dawn to later than dewy eve, for my leave was limited to ninety days, and within that stereotyped period I had to be back with my regiment. It was an established custom that any foreign traveller, especially an Englishman, should seek an audience with, and pay his respects to, the Governor, the Zill-es-Sultan, the eldest son of the Shah Nasir-ed-din. Our stay in Ispahan was brief—three or four days—but His Royal Highness was good enough to appoint a time for our visit. We found him a man of some thirty-five years of age, stoutly built, clean-shaven except for a dark moustache, and clad in the conventional Persian frock-coat. He made an amiable effort to converse in French, and succeeded almost as well as we did. He was

pleased to take us round some portion of his palace, which was admirably equipped for mitigating the rigours of a Persian summer. I have a vague vision of tanks of clear water, of fountains, of wavy foliage and plants and flowers, with a background of stuccoed domes and arches and mirrored walls. Whatever may be said about egotism, I must admit that one or two of His Royal Highness's references to himself interested me much. I was surprised, as he said I should be, when he told me that he was already a grandfather, his eldest daughter having recently married and already presented her lord with a mark of her affection. His Royal Highness has had almost time since then to become, *more Asiatico*, a great-great-grandfather. If his life be spared, I doubt not that that proud privilege awaits him. I took leave of him after a visit of some fifteen or twenty minutes, and for years I remained his devoted adherent, earnestly and sincerely hoping that he would succeed his father, Nasir-ed-din, on the throne of Persia. Of the "Zill's" methods of suppressing crime I had ocular proof in the mud pillars that girt around Shiraz and Ispahan. Each of these had been the death-bed of some miscreant. The victim being placed upright inside the hollow, his head and neck above the rim, gypsum in a liquid state was poured in and, as it cooled, gripped him as in a vice. If his lungs were empty when the plaster closed on him, he died quickly; but if expanded, he might linger for a day or two. While he lived, his friends gave him refreshment and comforted him with the "*kaliün*." When I mention that a sergeant of our Royal Engineers was killed by brigands very shortly before I travelled in Persia in 1881, and that in 1905 a British field officer sustained a most severe bullet-wound in the forearm when attacked by a similar gang, it will be understood that brigandage in Persia needs repression. For nine years I heard little of the Zill-es-Sultan, except what I read from time to time in the newspapers; but later, in 1890, on my return from Tashkent, I had the pleasure of meeting



Sir Arthur Nicolson at Buda-Pesth, and spent a most delightful evening with him and Lady Nicolson in an interchange of ideas and reminiscences associated with Persia and Central Asia. It was then that I heard with most genuine regret the actual circumstances under which the Zill-es-Sultan had replaced in the hands of his father, the Shah, all the governorships which he held, except that of Ispahan. From that time the hope in which I had ventured to indulge, that the "Zill" would succeed his father, vanished. By his resignation of three-fourths of the offices which he held the Zill-es-Sultan deprived himself of the power of asserting his claim to the throne. He was considered to be Anglophil, as the Wali-ahd Muzaffar-ed-din was Russophil, and his position as Governor of Ispahan and of most of the provinces of South-Eastern Persia placed him in a position to receive prompt support from India, the nearest military and naval base belonging to Great Britain. However, the accident of birth in the person of a royal mother, the will of the Shah, and the consensus of the British and Russian Governments, decreed that Muzaffar-ed-din should succeed his father. That the Zill-es-Sultan was a higher type of man, and had he ascended the Persian throne would have proved a better ruler, I can hardly doubt. But it is none the less possible to believe that the destinies of the kingdom of Persia have been guided by a higher and wiser Power than that which the judgment of man can bring to bear. Had a tolerable mediocre monarch like the Zill-es-Sultan held the throne, Persia would have probably gone on in the old hopeless groove. Now Young Persia has asserted itself, and there seems reason to hope that Persia will be reformed. If it does, it holds in its own hands the power to make itself strong and stable, as Afghanistan has done under the Amir Abdurrahman, and is still doing under the Amir Habibullah. If such a future lies before Persia, it will contribute to that *entente* between England and Russia which may, it would seem, be ere long established. For years a

weak Persia has been a bone of contention between the two. A strong Persia should afford no bones to pick. We are justified in holding that the Zill-es-Sultan, ruling as he did quietly but firmly in his province of Ispahan, and doing some little to ameliorate the condition of his pitiable country, has, according to his light, done his duty during the thirty-eight years of his governorship of Ispahan.

## THE NEW ROAD TO THE EAST: A RETROSPECT.

BY R. G. CORBET.

THE Simplon route has already begun to establish its claim to be the great highway to India, and its position will be much strengthened within the next few years, when the completion of the railroad across the Bernese Alps will increase its present advantage of thirty-one miles over the St. Gothard and sixty over the Mont Cenis. It is therefore naturally a subject of interest to all who pass through Italy on their way between Britain and the lands beyond the Mediterranean, and a few reminiscences connected with its opening may not be unwelcome.

The crowning inauguration was held fifteen months after the tunnel was first pierced, but a number of minor celebrations took place meanwhile. First and foremost among them was the memorable meeting within the bowels of the earth between two parties of the contractors' guests, who put Switzerland and Italy in communication by throwing open the iron doors that had at one time served as a dyke to hold back the water from the boiling springs in the mountain. The journey inside the tunnel was begun in diminutive Decauville trains, which seemed more puny still as the faint glimmer from their lights melted away among the recesses of the great vault, at that time finished up to the iron doors on the northern side and within about a mile of them on the southern. At the latter point the vault was exchanged for an opening just sufficient to let the little trucks through, so that those in them were obliged to keep their heads down in order not to come in contact with the scaffoldings or the rocks under which they passed, and as they sat thus an occasional slight shower would fall upon them from the pipes that drained the hot and cold springs, a number of which had been met with in this

section. The last 200 yards or so of the southern approach to the iron doors were narrower still, and had to be covered on foot. The doors were opened on the Swiss side, the excursionists from the two trains amalgamated, and the whole company went on together to the half-way siding a little to the north, where the Bishop of Sion asked a blessing on the undertaking. The visitors were entertained at Brieg in the evening, and returned home next day, bearing with them the memory of a holiday perfectly planned and carried out in every detail.

Like the first of the series, the festival which closed it more than a year later was a complete success. This time the Swiss Republic, represented by the Federal Railways, was the host, while the guests numbered nearly 800, and, besides the Swiss President and Executive, comprised Ministers from Rome, parliamentary, administrative, and judicial authorities, Federal Railway, postal and other officials, railway magnates from different parts of Europe, tunnel specialists, and newspaper correspondents. Each, a few days before starting, had received a splendid Simplon album and other publications, cards for the quarters he was to occupy at Lausanne, Milan, and Genoa, as well as for all the functions at these and other places, addressed labels for his luggage, and a pocket programme which was to have served as a pass to everything, but was rendered superfluous by the badge also sent him. The arrangements, indeed, were perfect, and worked without a hitch from beginning to end.

The excursion began at Milan, whence the Italian party, 300 strong, started for Lausanne. An unusually fast run over the picturesque new road by the Lago Maggiore and the Ossola Valley brought them to Domodossola, where the station full of cheering people, the guard of honour, the bands and the decorations, told them they were welcome. This was the beginning of a triumphal progress, for at Brieg and all the great and small stations beyond, gaily adorned in honour of the visitors, enthusiastic crowds

acclaimed them to the strains of the Italian National March and the Swiss Anthem. The natural beauties of the Rhone Valley and the Lake of Geneva, which were quite a revelation to those who had never seen the line, added their charm to the scene, and the interest never flagged till the journey's end. The train from Italy was closely followed by others from different parts of Switzerland, one of which carried the President's party.

Lausanne, all bunting and green, with her streets filled to overflowing, wore an aspect so different from her usual gravity that she was hardly to be recognized as the travellers, amidst another ovation, came out of the station, and later on made their way to the Palais de Rumine, the seat of the University, to witness the pageant. This, besides forming an epitome of the town's history from the fourteenth century to our day, and bringing its chief personages before their eyes, acquainted them with the dress worn by the people in different parts of the country, the military uniforms at various epochs, etc. ; whilst another of its features was a review of means of travel, from the Roman chariot to the motor-car and the electric locomotive. The banquet, at which the President of the Confederation delivered an inaugural address, was held when the long procession came to an end, and the guests afterwards went on to the Montbenon Terrace below the Federal Law Courts, the better to see the illuminations.

Next morning two steamers waiting at Ouchy took the visitors to Geneva. Lausanne, who sent them off as she had received them, with salutes and other demonstrations, now took advantage of their absence to hold popular banquets in the streets, one of which had been covered in to form an imitation Simplon tunnel. Meanwhile the excursionists on the lake were favoured by splendid weather—which, indeed, accompanied them all the way from Milan to Genoa—and were thus enabled fully to appreciate the beauties of the landscape and the wonderful scene at the port of Geneva. Numerous launches and

other craft, on which the fair sex predominated, came out to greet the boats, whose arrival was announced by rockets and balloons; and as the steamers neared the piers they were received with a perfect bombardment, cannon and mortars roaring and metal shells bursting aloft, while all the bells in the town, which was a mass of flags, pealed vigorously, and the quays were crowded with men, women and children, frantically waving handkerchiefs, cheering, and shouting "Long live Italy! Long live King Victor!" The windows overlooking the lake were all occupied, and people had even climbed upon the roofs. So great was the enthusiasm that the Italian municipal authorities and newspaper men took immediate steps to inform Milan and Genoa of it, in order that the duty of making a similar return might be urged upon the population; while regrets were expressed that the King of Italy, whom the Swiss would have borne shoulder-high if he had been allowed to come among them like their own President, had been obliged to confine himself to the hurried formalities of the official opening the month before.

There was a triumphal arch at the landing-place, and here two ladies, representing Italy and Switzerland, supported by grenadiers of Napoleon's Old Guard bearing the standards of the two countries, formed the centre of a charming *tableau vivant*, completed by a number of maidens in Empire costumes, who crowned ten miners from the Simplon tunnel with flowers. The luncheon, to which fully 1,000 persons sat down, followed, and each guest found awaiting him, with other keepsakes, a beautifully finished bronze commemorative tablet. This giving of souvenirs of the most different kinds, by the way, which had begun at Lausanne the night before with rich publications, tickets in chocolate for the special train, etc., extended to all the other halting places, and formed one of the many ingeniously varied proofs of cordiality that ever lent the journey fresh attractiveness and interest.

Among these was the adornment of the travellers at

Vevey, where another hearty reception was in store for them when they left Geneva, with bells like those used in the district for cattle. It was a bevy of damsels that performed this office, and one of them, when she found out who the President was, insisted upon embellishing his coat with two, the good old man cheerfully submitting. Herr Forrer, in fact, except when he had to take a prominent place at banquets and other functions, was a holiday-maker like the rest, and one whose simplicity and fatherly ways endeared him to all. It did one's heart good to see him patting the children on the head at St. Maurice, giving a kiss at Voghera to the little girl who offered him a nosegay, shaking hands with the veterans drawn up before the Genoa station, etc.

From Vevey the party went on to Montreux and Territet, and in the evening, before returning to their quarters at Lausanne, they were treated to a splendid illumination of the end of the lake, in which the historical Castle of Chillon, the funicular to the Rochers de Naye, and all the other features of the coast were clearly brought out by means of countless lamps, while the circle of lights was completed, from the Savoy frontier onwards, by a crescent of boats.

On the morning of the third day the passengers, distributed among three trains, were borne to Sion, amid farewells and parting salutes, in which the small stations vied with the more important ones. Sion had not a hall large enough for the breakfast, and accordingly made a spacious tent serve the purpose; but in every other respect the hospitality of the Valais had nothing to envy that of Vaud and Geneva.

At Brieg, the next halt, a number of relics of past Simplon travel were arranged along the platform. Guides with knapsacks and alpenstocks stood beside a girl and a youth mounted on mules; the St. Bernard dogs had been brought down from the hospice, and with them cows, goats, and sheep from the mountain. A diligence and

postal sleigh bore the inscription: "Morituri te salutant!" while the coachman's whip was bound with crape.

The Mayor of Novara and some of the councillors had prevailed upon ten ladies from Sion, who were accompanied by the local doctor and other friends, to add the lacking feminine element to the excursion by coming in the third train as far as Domodossola. The ladies here, on learning that an unexpected contingent of their own sex had arrived, hastened to give these visitors a special welcome, and to keep them company until the train should take them and their escort back to Switzerland.

After Domodossola, who greeted the tourists with the same warmth as on their former passage, the line was occupied by soldiers and police all the way to Milan, where the municipal authorities met the President's train, and he was driven to his temporary quarters with full military honours. Late the same evening the Chairman of the Exhibition took him in a motor-car to see the illuminations and fireworks there, and Milan, usually difficult to stir, applauded Herr Forrer to the echo all the way.

The break of journey at Milan, filled up by entertainments and sight-seeing, lasted till the afternoon of the third day, when two trains took the excursionists to Genoa. The stations on this line had determined not to be outdone by those in Switzerland, and even the smallest had its flags and other decorations, while the people swarmed on the platform and shouted "Evviva!" as the trains went by, or waved handkerchiefs from the houses at a distance. The large towns, from Pavia onwards, had brought bands to the stations, whose premises and approaches were crowded, while the Swiss Hymn and the Italian March were accompanied at every halt by cheering, the throwing of flowers, etc. The feeling shown at these places was such, indeed, that it moved President Forrer to alight from the train at one of them and make an extempore speech, signifying his appreciation. Handkerchiefs fluttered, again, from the windows of every house to be seen on the way from



Sampierdarena to Genoa, where the enthusiasm, like its outward signs, was said greatly to surpass that shown at the fêtes held shortly before in connection with the new harbour works.

Several steamers had been made ready for the breakfast at sea next day, and the guests were divided among them—with a touch of the humour which suggested the cattle-bells at Vevey—according to the colour of glorified luggage labels fastened to their coats. The weather had hitherto been propitious throughout and kept fine, but the sea was not quite smooth ; so it was thought prudent not to expose the authorities to the possible consequences of leaving the harbour. They were, therefore, merely taken to visit the battleships of the squadron that had been sent to Genoa in their honour. Meanwhile, the guests on another boat, being more venturesome, had a little trip along the coast, which all but the most hopeless landlubbers enjoyed immensely. On this occasion Switzerland figured for the first time as a maritime power, her colours, manufactured expressly the night before, flying from the main of the flagship and the other war vessels. A reception the same night in the splendid rooms of the Town Hall formed the last scene in this memorable journey, and the party took train early next morning to return home.

## THE YUNAN EXPEDITION OF 1875, AND THE CHEEFOO CONVENTION.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF COLONEL (NOW GENERAL)  
HORACE A. BROWNE.

(Continued from p. 96, July, 1906.)

*February 19.*—I agree to Margary going ahead, as he is anxious to do, to reconnoitre. He is accompanied by his writers and servants, by Moung Yo, and has an escort of Burmans and Kakhyengs. He is to stop at Tsarai, make inquiries there, and write back to me at once, waiting for us or going on as may appear advisable.

After he had gone, a Kakhyeng comes and says he left Manwaing yesterday, and that he heard there that a Chinese official named Yang-ta-jen, in league with the Tsarai Tsawbwa, was collecting men to oppose us. He says he is one of the two men who originated the rumour of yesterday, and that the Kakhyengs are angry with him for giving us the information. Li-ssu, he says, is not at Manwaing, but at Maing-maw, on the southern route where he went to meet us. The Burmans do not place much confidence in this man, and say he is only half-witted. As he understands no Burmese, I cannot cross-examine him myself.

News arrives from Tse-kaw that two important Kakhyeng hostages, the Poon-tsee Pawmaing's and the Tsarai's sons have absconded. This, taken in connection with the reported ill-feeling on Tsarai's part, is rather ominous. Other hostages are sent down to replace them.

*February 20.*—I receive the following letter from Margary :

"MY DEAR COLONEL,

"I have taken six hours getting to Tsarai—an awful road. You will not be able to set foot to stirrup for

the first hour. Reached Tsatee in one hour forty minutes. Good road for half an hour through Tsatee ; after that you have perpetual climbing. Reached our old resting-place after passing Leng-su at 12.10 (or three hours forty minutes). Very little water anywhere. We were delayed half an hour shortly after leaving by the mules kicking off their loads, and I had to send back for more. Please tell Doctor that there is fine 'Sheroo' at Tsatee. My loud-voiced Pawmaing went ahead, but awaited us here to say there is nothing whatever in the way—road as clear and quiet as possible—and he expressed his contempt for the Hseidawgyee by spitting on the ground, and pretending to stamp on his form. People very civil everywhere. I shall push on after eating a bit.

"Yours sincerely,

"A. MARGARY."

I received also a letter from Moung Yo, saying that he was most cordially received by the Tsarai Tsawbwa as soon as he informed him of his relationship to Li.

These letters appear to remove the Tsaredawgyee's doubts, and he no longer opposes a further advance.

We cross the Namhpoung at midday, and mount continually till we are 2,000 feet above that river, and then the road becomes level and good. We pass through two villages, whose Tsawbwas join us. We have a magnificent view of the Irrawaddy valley, and encamp on the Maroo hill, three miles beyond Tsatee, and 5,000 feet above sea-level.

Some Tsawbwas who live close to Manwaing come in and report that there are no difficulties in the way. Moung Yo also comes back from Tsarai, and says that the only thing that troubles the Tsawbwa is that he anticipates difficulty in getting his share of the blackmail out of the hands of Poonlien, to whom it was paid. If such is the case, it will be the fault of the Tsarai's son, who particularly requested that the amount should be placed in

Poonlien's hands. I instruct Moung Yo to go back early to-morrow morning with a few presents, and a message to say that I will see that the Tsawbwa gets all that is due to him.

Some Manwaing Shans come in to sell fowls, and report that all is quiet along the road, on which the Tsaredawgyee seems a little easier in his mind.

*February 21.*—We were all ready at daylight to start for Manwaing when a message is brought from the Wonkaw and Tsatee Tsawbwas to say they are not ready, and we are on no account to start without them.

At 8 a.m. these dignitaries had not yet appeared, and I thought I might hasten their movements by going on ahead. Accompanied by the Doctor, Allen, and the Sikhs, I started without any baggage. When about half-way to Tsarai, a Kakhyeng overtook us with a message from the Tsaredawgyee to say he wished to consult with me again. I replied that as I was so far on my way I would go to Tsarai, and return from there if necessary. Outside Tsarai Moung Yo came to meet us, and with him we entered the Tsawbwa's house, which like all the others, is a long, barn-like structure, capable of containing hundreds of men. Before entering I made the Sikhs draw up in line and ground their arms with a good rattle at a loud word of command.

The Tsawbwa is a truculent-looking savage, a good type of a Kakhyeng chief. He was civil, but seemed to be ill at ease, and during our interval he went several times into an inner room as if to consult some one. In one respect his conduct was unlike that of all other Kakhyengs; he asked for no presents. This awakened my curiosity. The house seemed to be swarming with armed Kakhyengs, so that I felt glad that I had an imposing-looking lot of Sikhs standing to their arms outside the door, and I sent word to them to say that at the sound of a whistle they were to march in. The Wonkaw then arrived, and informed me that the Tsaredawgyee had refused to move till we heard

from Margary at Manwaing. The Tsaredawgyee afterwards informed me that it was the Wonkaw, and not himself, who refused to start. In the assembly I noticed several persons whose presence there surprised me. There were two Pawmaings in command of the Tsarai contingent of our mulemen who ought to have been with their mules in our camp. There also was the very same Kakhyeng who two days ago told us we were to be attacked by the Tsarai Tsawbwa.

The Tsarai derided the fears of the Burmans, and informing us that Margary was already at Manwaing, invited us to follow him there.

When I entered the house, I intended to go at once to Manwaing, the white cliffs of which were visible, but before I left I had changed my mind. Why, I can hardly say. A number of scarcely palpable little reasons gave me an instinctive feeling that there was something wrong—something to be cleared up before we advanced any further. There was much that was “uncanny” in the behaviour of the Tsawbwa, as well as in the faces of many of those present. They looked as if they were hesitating on the brink of some serious determination.

I finally told the Tsawbwa that it was too late to go on to-day to Manwaing, and I would like to send a letter to Margary. He promised to deliver it himself.

We then return to camp, leaving the Wonkaw and Mounng Yo behind to gather information.

On arriving at our camp, we found the Burmans in a state of great excitement about some Chinese who had been seen reconnoitring our position from the heights above.

(The exciting and absorbing events which followed were not recorded from day to day, but were noted down as soon as circumstances permitted my taking up a pen.)

*February 22.*—I awoke to find myself in a veritable hornets' nest. The position we occupied was at a place called the Maroo, or Maloo Tsa-khan (halting-place), on the talus of a hill which sloped upwards on our right to a ridge about 1,000 yards off. This slope had some trees on it, but they were not thick enough to afford much cover to any large body of men. In front of us, taking our front to be the direction in which we were travelling, was the road to Tsarai. On our left was a steep slope going down some 3,000 feet to the Namhpoung river. In our rear (which soon became our front), slightly below the level of the camp, was a comparatively level stretch of ground, covered with thick elephant grass, extending to a hill some 300 yards off, through a gorge in which ran the road by which we had come. This was the most vulnerable part of our position, on account of the cover it afforded to an attacking force. On this edge of our plateau, however, were some scattered rocks, which afforded cover to ourselves.

The Europeans of our party and our Sikhs were on the lower part of the plateau, the mulemen and the Burmese being higher up on our right.

This Burmese contingent, which the Tsaredawgyee declared to be 350 strong, though we never could count more than 120 of them, consisted of villagers levied from the Bhamo district for the occasion, armed with various kinds of nondescript weapons, most of which were fit only for a museum of antiquities—match-locks and flint-locks which required coaxing before they would go off. These men were under the immediate command of a Burmese officer called the Tapeng Khyoung Oke, a capable and energetic man.

I was aroused at daylight to be informed that the Chinese were surrounding us. I got up, and saw a continuous line of armed men defiling along the ridge on our right towards the jungle-covered position in our rear. There could not be much doubt about their object, but I did not wish to be the first to commence hostilities by firing on them.

All doubts we might have had were dispelled by the arrival of the Wonkaw with the horrible intelligence that poor Margary and his followers had all been murdered yesterday afternoon (about the time we were in the Tsawbwa's house), and that the Chinese officials of Momien had gathered a force of 4,000 men to annihilate us. The men we had just seen were an advance guard of 800 men. Whilst endeavouring to get back to give us timely warning, the Wonkaw had been detained and deprived of his pony at Poon-tsee, but he had escaped and come on foot.

He had hardly finished speaking when fire was opened upon us from our front, right, and rear, but principally from the rear, where the bulk of the enemy was concealed in the high grass.

The first shot fired was the signal for a stampede of the mules and mulemen. One mule was hit, and in the twinkling of an eye they all disappeared down the steep declivity on our left. Had they been friendly they could hardly have done otherwise, for it was no part of their bargain with us to stand to be shot at. But the Poon-tsee and Tsarai men showed their animus as they passed by making grimaces, shouting out "They have come," and making a sawing motion with their fingers across their throats.

As soon as fire was opened upon us, the Sikhs were ordered to return it. The Havildar Mana Singh, a thoroughly good man, had already made excellent dispositions for placing his men under cover of the rocks. From here they kept up a steady fire, though at first they saw nothing but puffs of smoke to aim at. They commenced at such a pace that I thought it necessary, not knowing how long we might be engaged and fearing our ammunition might run out, to direct them to fire only when they saw a man to aim at.

Encouraged by this slackening of our fire, some of the boldest of the enemy showed a disposition to storm. Emerging from the gap in the hill, they advanced, waving guns,

banners, and trident spears, with comical gestures of defiance, and shouting out that they were commanded by Shouk-goon, nephew of the great Li, and calling out to the Burmese to retire and leave the foreign devils to their fate. A volley from the Sikhs, however, when they were still at a distance which they probably considered safe, disconcerted this band of dancing warriors. Two of them fell, and the remainder ran hither and thither, seeking the nearest shelter they could find. Two or three of the boldest took advantage of some inequalities in the ground, and popped up now and then to shout defiance to us and friendly advice to the Burmans. They had a hot time of it, and at last ceased to appear.

In the meantime, our Burman allies, crouched on the eminence to our right (now our left), were doing a great deal of shouting, beating of gongs, and letting off of fire-arms. As the Chinese never fired in their direction, their bravery was never put to any great test, but one of them who imprudently came to our side was, unfortunately, wounded. They were, however, much encouraged by the—to them astonishing—rapidity and success of the Sikhs' fire, which they hailed with great applause.

Two of their officers did display a considerable amount of active courage, for they came and stood, or rather danced, on the rocks in front of the Sikhs, making the most frantic, and to us the most laughable, gestures of defiance; heaping a great amount of wanton abuse in true Oriental style upon our assailants, and daring them to come on and fight the soldiers of his Great and Glorious Majesty. One of them had an idea that he was making himself foolish in our eyes, for he informed me in an aside that it was necessary for the big men to do this sort of thing to keep the little ones from being afraid.

After the Chinese had been driven back, they continued to fire at us all the morning, but from such a distance that their shots were almost harmless. We had only three men wounded. There were, however, some narrow escapes.



One man took a pretty good shot at me with a double-barrelled gun. I saw the two flashes, and a Burman standing near exclaimed: "There is the Tsarai's son firing at you with the gun Sladen gave him." The same man nearly hit Allen, the bullet going a few inches from him.

One incident puzzled me much at the moment. I was standing near the edge of a rock when a flash in my face and a loud report at my feet made me start back. Finding I was unhurt I stepped forward again to ascertain the cause, but looking over the rock could see nothing whatever to explain the mystery. I thought at the moment it must have been a hand-grenade, but as no others were used, this could hardly have been the case.

It was clear we could keep the enemy at bay during the day, but I began to think of what was likely to happen at night. By that time the other 3,000 men might have come up, and the superiority of our arms would not avail us much in a night attack. I could not rely much on our Burman auxiliaries, so we should be really only 20 men against 4,000. An attempt to force a passage through the 800 or 1,000 men in our rear would probably result in some loss of life, to say nothing of the loss of our baggage, which we had now no means of transporting. I was considering the advisability of burning our baggage and retreating down the precipitous slope to our left, when the Wonkaw popped up and announced that the Tsarai's son had offered him Rs. 500 to go over to the other side, leaving me to infer that he was going to accept the proposition unless I had a better one to offer him. I did not let the savage see what I thought of his impudent faithlessness, but replied, "Very well, if you will only undertake to set fire to the jungle in which those Chinamen are concealed, and to carry our baggage back without loss to Tsekaw, I will give you Rs. 10,000. Kakhyeng notation does not run up to tens of thousands, so the interpreter had some difficulty in explaining my offer, but he was at last made to comprehend that he should have some baskets full of silver. He closed

with these terms, and after getting a supply of powder, set off to get round the Chinamen's flank to Tsatee, to collect carriage and fire the jungle, cautioning us not to fire on any Kakhyengs coming through the Chinese position.

This was the turning-point of the day. In less than an hour we had the pleasure of seeing columns of smoke rising from the jungle, and very soon the whole hill was ablaze. The enemy was seen wildly rushing about and trying to retreat to the ridge on our right. Luckily for them, they got much mixed up with Kakhyengs who might be coming to our assistance, or we could have done much execution amongst them. A Kakhyeng brought us the head of a Chinaman and claimed a reward for it. Both Burmans and Kakhyengs executed a grotesque war-dance round this gory trophy, and the Tsaredawgyee, pointing to it, remarked: "Now you see it is the big Chinamen and not the Kakhyengs who are opposing us." At 4 p.m. the whole Chinese force was in full retreat along the sky-line of the ridge, and we hastened their pace with some well-directed shots with the sights up for 1,000 yards.

The road was no sooner clear than the Wonkaw appeared with a long train of mules and men. The mules were rapidly loaded up, and at 5 p.m. were all driven off in the direction of Tsatee. Having made a bonfire of some useless packages, we quitted the scene of our sharp little fight, leaving nothing on it but the Chinaman's head attached by the pigtail to a tree.

On the road we found that the Chinamen had thrown up earthworks across it with the view of preventing our retreat. On arriving at Tsatee the Burmans and Kakhyengs wanted us to stay there to defend it against a probable night attack, but I found it utterly unsuitable for defence, and went on to our old camp on the Namhpoung river. The mulemen with the baggage remained hidden all night in the jungle, so we had nothing to eat, and having been twenty-four hours without food, we comprehended what the sensations of a starving man would be.

*February 23.*—We had intended to wait here for our baggage and some breakfast, but the Kakhyeng scouts brought word that 1,000 Chinese were hastening by Poontsee to cut off our retreat at the 4th Guard-house, so we withdrew by a circuitous route through the Wonkaw territory, where no hostile Kakhyengs would venture to come, and where Chinamen could not find their way without the assistance of Kakhyengs. We hurried on till we were considered safe from pursuit, and in the evening reached Tsakaw, having marched twenty miles over a mountainous country in seven and a half hours. The Sikhs who had been forty-eight hours without food were rather exhausted.

At Tsakaw we were received with many expressions of joy by the Burmese population, but the demeanour of the Chinese was strikingly different to what it was before we started. Then they were civil and polite, many of them visiting us and wishing us good luck. Now they can hardly conceal their sorrow at our having been able to get back. There is no doubt that they knew of the kind of reception which awaited us, and that they had been in communication with the Momien officials on the subject. It is surprising that the secret was so well kept that we had no inkling of it.

I have now to institute what seems likely to be a very difficult investigation as to the persons on whose heads the responsibility for the unprovoked attack upon us must fall; but to-day I was fortunate enough to make a very good beginning.

Whilst I was conversing with the Tsaredawgyee, a messenger sent post-haste from Momien delivered two letters into his hands. Had I not been present at the moment, I should probably have lost a bit of evidence which is valuable, considering the persons who wrote it and the person to whom it was addressed.

The letters were addressed by the Burman custom-house officials at Momien to the Tsaredawgyee. They reported that Margary and his five Chinese followers who

arrived at Manwaing on the 20th were killed by Chinese on February 21; and that three Chinese officials whom they call Bwa, Shoon, and Lyo, sent to Manwaing by the Governor of Momien, had charged the writers to inform the Tsaredawgyee that the English were to be attacked on the night of the 23rd, and that the Tsaredawgyee must leave them to their fate if he did not wish to share it. It was further stated that 4,000 men were ready to surround the English.

The messenger himself confirmed these statements. He left Manwaing on the 22nd, the day we were attacked. At Tsarai he met two Chinese officials whom he calls Yoon-tseng-lweng and Yoon-hsien-sheng, who ordered him to go at once and direct the Tsaredawgyee to separate himself from the English. Further on he met one Shouk-goon a Chinese officer running away from the fight.

This, then, is direct evidence of the best kind against the above-named six Chinese officials. The Burmans have probably transmogrified the names, according to their wont, but a local enquiry would soon identify them.

It seems that poor Margary by going ahead saved the rest of our party from destruction. We were to have been surrounded to-night (the 23rd) by 4,000 men, but the slaughter of Margary on the 21st precipitated matters, and hostilities were commenced on the 22nd with only 1,000 men.

I am now anxious about the fate of Ney Elias who went to explore the Southern route, and have done all I can to recall him.

*February 27* (at Bhamo). — A Burman refugee has arrived from Manwaing and his statement confirms what we have already heard. He saw Margary going about the town of Manwaing on the 21st. Two Chinese officials, Lyo and Shoon, arrived from Momien with a force of 4,000 men which encamped outside the town. On the afternoon of the 22nd, Margary was invited to go outside the town to see some hot springs where he was killed. His followers were murdered in the monastery where they were staying,

a desecration at which the Shan monks were highly indignant. The next day things began to get hot for the Burman residents. The Chinamen accused them of aiding the English, so, on the advice of the Shans, this man resolved to fly.

Two of the party who went with Margary—Moung Yo, my interpreter, and Ship-yu-teen, Allen's writer—are still unaccounted for, and the Tsaredawgyee is of opinion that the less interest we appear to take in them, the better it will be for them if they are still alive.

*March 2.*—To my great relief Elias turns up to-day. He had started on February 10, and got through the Kakhyeng hills without any difficulty. The much-talked-of letter, which was to incriminate the Burman Government, was there shown to him, and it turned out to be worthless as evidence. It might have been written by anyone, and was probably written by a priest. The real reason of the Kakhyeng opposition to our travelling by this route was found to be their unwillingness to allow any armed Burmans to enter their hills.

The Kakhyengs conducted Elias to Maingmaw, the first Shan town inside the Chinese frontier. Here his difficulties began. The Tsawbwa, an impertinent young boor, refused absolutely to let him penetrate any further into China, "passport or no passport." The Tsawbwa was evidently acting under orders, and at the moment there was a greater man even than the Tsawbwa on the spot. This was the redoubtable Li-tsee-tahi, whose duties as "Warden of the Marches" happened to have brought him to this particular place at this particular time. Considering that we had at first announced to him our intention of travelling by this route, and that he had left his residence on the northern route before the news of our altered plans reached him, there can be very little doubt that the motive of his visit here was to meet our expedition.

This dignitary received Elias with the studied civility and politeness which he had previously displayed at his

meeting with Margary. He professed, however, to be unable to remove the obstacles placed in Elias' way by the Tsawbwa, and recommended his going to another frontier town, Namkan, and penetrating into China from there. Elias took his advice, but found the same opposition as he had at Maingmaw. In despair he returned to the Kakh-yeng country to await my orders, and there the news of our disaster reached him.

From this episode two important facts seem clear: first, a general order to stop us must have been passed all along the frontier, and second, Li-tsee-tahi is *not* one of the men who can be held responsible for the attack upon us. From his conduct to Elias we may infer that, had he met us, he would have used the same peaceable means to turn us back as he did in the case of Elias.

It still remains for us to discover the origin of the general order to stop us, issued in defiance of the Imperial passport. Did the Pekin Government at the very time it issued the passport send secret orders that we were to be opposed? Mr. Wade evidently thinks it capable of such an act of treachery. Or did the Viceroy of Yunan, whom Mr. Wade describes as an anti-foreign official, take it upon himself to disregard the orders from Pekin?

Margary, however, was loud in his praises of the zeal and kindness with which this official assisted him. Then there is the Governor of Momien. He received Margary civilly, but after Margary left, the Burmese Embassy passed through Momien. What perfidious suggestions these Burmans may have whispered into the Governor's ear we can imagine, but we are not likely to get any reliable information on the subject here.

There is one unfortunate verity on which they could raise a plausible superstructure of lies. Our last expedition in these parts was accredited to the Panthay rebels then in power. The supposition that we have been sent to aid in some way the restoration of the vanquished Panthays' rule would require only to be hinted at to be believed.

A local inquiry under the protection of an armed force seems to be the only possible method of getting at the bottom of the matter and exacting reparation.

*March 3.*—The Wonkaw brings our baggage in to-day, and I am pleased and rather surprised to find that we have not lost an inordinate quantity by thieving. It is satisfactory, at any rate, that our assailants get none of it. My uniform has gone, though I should hardly have thought that such finery would have tickled the Kakhyeng fancy; and all liquors, naturally, have had to pay a heavy toll in kind, but the great bulk of our property has been restored, which is very creditable to the Tsawbwa, who has carried out the contract made on the battlefield, and fully deserves the promised reward.

Direct communication with Manwaing is still interrupted, but news comes in by dribblets. The Kahkyengs have ascertained that the number of the enemy we killed was twenty, Chinamen sixteen and Kakhyengs four. An official at Momien, whom they call Yan-ta-jen, has punished all the officers for not having carried out their orders, which were to kill every one, European, Chinese, or Burman, in any way connected with the expedition. Allen's writer was killed at Tsarai. Mounng Yo's fate is uncertain.

*March 10.*—There being nothing further to be done at Bhamo, I have come down to Mandalay. As soon as the steamer anchored I received a visit from a British-Burman, who said he came to assure himself of my safety. On February 18 he was at the palace, when the Toung-daway Bo (a confidential officer of the King's) gleefully informed him that by that time I was done for, as the Chinese had got hold of me. Some days afterwards the same officer informed him, but not with so much pleasure, that I had managed to escape by blackening my face.

On my going to the Residency, Strover confirmed the fact that on February 16 reports were current in the palace that we were about to be attacked. Whence did the Mandalay Court obtain this accurate information? There

is only one possible answer. The news came from the royal embassy which was at Momien when preparations were being made to oppose us. And yet not a hint of this was allowed to transpire until it was too late for such a hint to be of any use to us.

The King is anxious to see me, but this anxiety I do not reciprocate. Though I could with truth inform him that much praise is due to such of his officials as I have come into contact with, yet the rôle played by his embassy is so very suspicious that, until this matter is cleared up, an audience is undesirable. So, on the pretext of being obliged to hurry down to Rangoon, I escape being interviewed either by the King or his ministers.

RANGOON, *March 5*.—Prince Hassan, son of Suliman, late Sultan of Talifu, is now here. He escaped the general massacre of his family and co-religionists by having been deputed, just before the crisis occurred, on a mission to India and England. The fact of his being under our protection was one of the factors which predisposed the Chinese against us. He professes to have received secret intelligence from Yunan as to the cause of the opposition to our expedition.

According to him, when the despatch of the expedition was first talked of in Mandalay, the King desired the Chinese merchants to ascertain what reception we were likely to meet with. The merchants wrote to Momien, and the Momien folk addressed the Viceroy of Yunan, stating that as the province was only just recovering from the effects of the rebellion, it was inexpedient that we should be received. The Viceroy approved these sentiments, but added that, as we were travelling under the protection of the Emperor's passport, we could not be molested in Chinese territory, so we must be opposed beyond the boundary.

The Chinese have made such a clean sweep of the Panthays in Yunan, that it is doubtful whether any of the few who are left are in a position to know what went on behind the scenes; but this statement concords with the



general opinion that it was impossible for anyone in Yunan to mobilize a force of several thousand men without the order, or at any rate the tacit consent, of the all-powerful Viceroy.

No doubt the Chinese will attempt to put all the blame on the Kakhyengs.

SIMLA, *April 10.*—I have been sent here to supply the Government with information so that it may decide upon the next move to be made. I find I might have been spared the journey, for before my arrival the Government had adopted the plan of making no move at all, and of leaving everything in the hands of Mr. Wade at Peking.

This may be orthodox diplomacy, but we are dealing with Chinamen, and this is hardly the best way of securing the punishment of the guilty. A local inquiry made by Consular officials under the protection of Indian bayonets would be much more likely to elicit the truth than a host of Chinese mandarins sent from Peking, supposing even that the Chinese Government is blameless in the matter, which is very doubtful.

But there is a reason for the reluctance of the Indian Government to send a small force to the Chinese frontier at the present moment through Upper Burma.

When, in 1853, the Great Proconsul, Lord Dalhousie, issued his fiat that henceforth the boundary between Upper and British Burma should run along a certain parallel of latitude, the line was duly demarcated until it came, at its eastern end, to a mountainous country, inhabited by the Karennees, or Red Karens, who acknowledged no allegiance to the King of Burma. Here, therefore, the demarcation stopped, on the understanding that this people should remain independent both of Britons and Burmans. Latterly the King has been trying to subjugate these Karens, and so get to the south of the Dalhousie line. This cannot be allowed, and Sir D. Forsyth is to be sent to Mandalay to convey serious remonstrances on the subject. Until it is known in what spirit the King will receive these remon-

stances, it would not be safe to isolate a small force in Burman territory. The Indian Government is more pre-occupied with the Karennee affair than with that of Yunan, and is pleased to have found a way of washing its hands of the latter by making it over entirely to Mr. Wade.

Negotiations have already commenced at Pekin by a demand on Mr. Wade's part for an indemnity of 150,000 taels (£45,000) and the punishment of the guilty parties.

*April 19.*—The English papers containing accounts of the attack on our expedition have arrived. From the large amount of space devoted to it, our mishap seems to be the sensation of the day, and the details given are generally so accurate that they have evidently been furnished by some member of our party. The phraseology in fact is not unlike that of some of my own reports.

As my presence here has no longer any *raison d'être* I am to proceed to China to aid Mr. Wade in his negotiations with Pekin.

Before leaving I do what I can to obtain some special reward for the little band of Sikhs, to whose steadiness the Europeans of our party owe their lives. The local Indian papers, too, are taking up the matter. I find the following in the *Pioneer*: The behaviour of the handful of Sikhs is a bright feature in the disaster. When Colonel Browne first inspected them in Calcutta he remarked that he could walk through China with them (this is a bit of journalistic imagination, for I never made such a remark), and their conduct proved this no idle boast. They fought not only with splendid courage but with deliberate judgment. We are glad to hear that the Supreme Government has consulted the Commander-in-Chief as to the nature of the reward to be bestowed upon these gallant fellows."

*June 13, 1875.*—On board H.M.S. *Vigilant*, in the China Sea. I joined Mr. Wade at Fu-chow, and am now accompanying him on Admiral Ryder's ship on his way to the North.

I have been studying the long and acrimonious corre-

spondence which since March last, when the news of our disaster reached China, has been passing between Mr. Wade and Prince Kung, the Chinese Foreign Ministers and the Tsung-li-Yamen (Board of Foreign Affairs).

As soon as Mr. Wade received the telegraphic news of the attack upon us, he made six peremptory demands :

1. The crime must be investigated immediately in the presence of British officers, for whom passports must be granted. No report of the trial and punishment of the offenders will be accepted, unless the inquiry has been made in the presence of these officers.

2. Fresh passports must be issued for another expedition.

3. An indemnity of 150,000 taels shall be paid by the Chinese Government.

4. Immediate steps shall be taken to give effect to treaty stipulations about diplomatic privileges.

5. Effect shall be given to treaty stipulations about trade.

6. All claims of British subjects arising out of the acts of Chinese officials shall be settled.

It has also been suggested that the Chinese should send an embassy to England to offer an apology.

The first three demands only have any direct connection with our affair. The others are quite extraneous to it. Mr. Wade is using the case of "*The Indian Government versus The Chinese Government, re Yunan Affair*," as a peg on which to hang a lot of heterogeneous demands in which the Indian Government has no direct interest. This, as far as the Indian Government is concerned, appears to be an undesirable complication of matters.

The Chinese seem to see things in the same light as myself, for on March 23 the Tsung-li-Yamen wrote :

"Other claims unconnected with the subject at issue (the Yunan affair) should be dealt with on their own merits. It cannot be contended that the existence of this case justifies the indemnification of other claims, thus tending to no slight amount of entanglement. Separation is

necessary in order that the threads of current business be kept distinct."

Mr. Wade's argument to justify this "entanglement" is that "the Yunan and other outrages against foreigners are but the natural outcome of the policy followed by the Central Government in refusing all public recognition of foreign representatives, and in systematically evading the fulfilment of treaties. The provincial governors, if they are not instructed in so many words to manifest a feeling of hostility to foreigners, are but faithful to the principle of withstanding, either secretly or openly, every movement by which China may possibly be committed to a departure from the tradition of non-intercourse. So long as the representatives of foreign powers are treated as vassals, and are described as 'having humbly craved an audience,' and so long as treaty obligations are studiously kept from the knowledge of the people by the careful exclusion of them from the *Pekin Gazette*, so long will outrages occur."

To this the Chinese turn a deaf ear, and the only demand they have as yet consented to is the first—viz., an inquiry, to be held in the presence of British officers. Nine days after the receipt of Mr. Wade's complaint, the Tsung-li-Yamen applied for a decree authorizing the acting Viceroy of Yunan, Ts'en-yu-ling, to investigate the matter. This is the very man we suspect, with good reason, to be mainly responsible for the attack upon us! What a farce! At the same time, however, the permanent Viceroy, Lin-yo-chao, was ordered to rejoin his post.

Still the Chinese were in no hurry to issue the passports for the officers who were to assist at the inquiry, and they yielded only to an unmistakable display of anger on Mr. Wade's part. At the end of March he informed them that if the passports did not reach him at a certain hour, he should remove the legation and break off all relations.

This ultimatum had the desired effect, and passports were issued for British officers who were to be present at, but

not take part in, the trial. This was described as a "concession beyond the limits of what is due."

As soon as Mr. Wade got the passports he hurried off to Shanghai for the purpose of hastening the departure of the officers. But this eagerness seems to have evaporated. Two and a half months have elapsed, and the officers do not yet seem to be on the eve of a start. They have, however, been nominated, and are the Hon. Mr. Grosvenor, Secretary of Legation, and Mr. Baber, of the Consular Service. The selection of Mr. Grosvenor seems open to criticism. One would have thought that an intimate knowledge of the language, the people, and the country, would have been indispensable qualifications for the head of such a mission. Mr. Grosvenor does not claim to be possessed of any of these qualifications, but, as Mr. Wade has been supplied with young diplomats as Secretaries of Legation, he must utilize them in one way or another. Baber will be the working man, and Grosvenor the figure-head.

The Chinese have nominated a high official to accompany the two Englishmen as a guarantee for their safety. The great Viceroy, Li-Hung-Chang, was ordered to select a man for this post, and his choice has fallen on Prefect Suig-pa-hwa. This appointment is criticised by the Anglo-Chinese press, which complains that the man is not of sufficiently high rank, but Mr. Wade is quite satisfied with him, and has a good opinion of his intelligence.

What, then, is the cause of our delay in availing ourselves of the concession extorted from the Chinese? There seem to be two causes. In the first place, Mr. Wade, after obtaining the passports, began to doubt whether it would be any use to send two officers to the uttermost part of China to be mere helpless spectators at the farce of a Chinese trial, in which one of the presiding judges would be a man whom we consider ought to be one of the accused. In the second place, Mr. Wade is hampered by his instructions from England. Although a stringent inquiry and the punishment of the offenders is insisted upon, the Home

Government is not desirous of a too rapid solution of the affair. There are just now heavy clouds on the political horizon in the direction of Turkey, and they do not like the idea of having a Chinese war on their hands in the midst of a European storm. So, the latest instructions are to temporize. With such a policy, no doubt, the Chinese will cordially co-operate. Thus it has come to pass that the departure of the mission, which was to have been despatched in hot haste in the month of April, has now been postponed to the month of September at the earliest.

The perusal of that wonderful and admirable publication, the *Pekin Gazette*, or, rather, of such portions of it as are printed in English in Shanghai, is amusing and instructive. From it I gather that one guiding principle of Chinese policy is that each Mandarin is responsible for the peace of his district. When any sensational outrage occurs, the Magistrate of the locality is forthwith deprived of a button and allowed a certain time to discover the offenders, after which, if he fails, he is deprived of all his buttons and subject to still further punishment. Apparently, in our case, as we are mere foreign devils, less drastic measures are adopted. Were I conducting the negotiations, I should demand that all the officials in Yunan, and especially those at Momien, should be stripped of their buttons and suspended pending further inquiry. I should further inform the Chinese that a regiment, as a gunboat cannot get there, will be sent to Momien and kept there till the inquiry is completed. Had the Yunan outrage occurred on the seaboard, Mr. Wade would not have been satisfied with the despatch of a couple of officers. They would have gone in a gunboat. To treat with the Chinese as with a civilized European Government is to invite failure. Their ideas are as different from ours as if they lived in another planet. In what other country is the custom of substituting "vicarious criminals" for the real ones usual or even dreamt of? But this is constantly done in China, not only by tyrannous

officials, but as the voluntary act of the people themselves. It is well known that after the Tien-tsin massacre numerous innocent victims were sacrificed to appease our wrath. I have often myself, when sentencing Chinese offenders who pleaded guilty, felt convinced that these men were not the real criminals, but had been paid to plead guilty. What good will it do us if a lot of innocent men have their heads cut off in Yunan? However, I suppose that Mr. Wade, with his unequalled experience and knowledge of China and its people, knows best what is possible in our case. In the *Pekin Gazette* of May 15 last I find some interesting information about the Burman embassy which preceded us, and which I suspect to have had a hand in some crafty, Machiavellian way in stirring up suspicion against us. The Yunan Viceroy reports that this embassy arrived at Momien on February 1, and at Yunan on April 1. This report, therefore, took only six weeks to reach Peking. A translation of the King of Burma's letter to the Emperor of China is given. This is couched in terms of the humblest servility. It would be interesting to see the original, for the Chinese, of course, have translated it after their own fashion, and it is difficult to believe that the potentate who, when addressing the Queen of England, styles himself "His Glorious and Excellent Majesty, the King of the Rising Sun, Lord of many White Elephants, the Great Chief of Righteousness, Emperor of Burma, etc.," should describe himself, when writing to the Emperor of China, simply as "Your Little Vassal, Mengdoon of Burma." This report is useful otherwise, as it incidentally mentions the names and status of various officials in Yunan, whom we have hitherto known only by the Burmese imitations of their names. I have culled the names of the following Mandarins who ought to be deprived of their buttons: Ts'en Yu-Ying, the acting Viceroy; Wu-ki-liang, sub-Prefect of Momien, whom the Burmans call the "Won" or Governor; Tsiang Tsung han, commanding the garrison at Momien (Margary called him "General

Chiang"); Li, a subordinate officer (Colonel?); this is evidently the well-known Li-hsieh-tai; Tung, another Colonel.

As we know that Li was not present at the attack upon us, the chances are that it was Tung who commanded on this occasion, but the chief responsibility will rest upon the sub-Prefect and Viceroy, as the military would not have acted without their orders.

SHANGHAI, *June* 16.—The diplomatic fencing between Mr. Wade and Prince Kung continues, but the former gains no ground. He carried his first point, the inquiry before British officers, only by an ultimatum. Had the other points been included in the ultimatum perhaps they also would have been conceded, on paper at any rate. Now Mr. Wade is beginning to doubt whether the Chinese will keep their promise about the inquiry, except at the point of the sword, and, unfortunately, political complications in Europe prevent our unsheathing the sword.

As to Mr. Wade's other demands not included in the ultimatum, the Chinese maintain an obstinate *non possumus* attitude. They object to the payment of an indemnity of 150,000 taels, or of any sum beyond what may be proved after inquiry to be due for losses actually incurred. Prince Kung writes that he "is at a loss to comprehend on what treaty provisions Mr. Wade has based his estimate, and it is impossible for him to avoid a feeling of perturbation under the circumstances." With regard to diplomatic privileges and trade, he regrets he cannot alter present arrangements. He takes the opportunity to remark that the passport given to me was only for "officers travelling," and that such officers were invested with no official functions and no powers of remonstrating with local authorities. By this he seems to insinuate that our object of opening out a trade route was not a legitimate one.

*July* (at the British Embassy, Tokio, Japan).—I have been sent here to get the views of Sir Harry Parkes, the British Minister in Japan, upon the Yunan imbroglio. Sir



Harry is one of the great authorities (if not the greatest) on all Chinese matters. I am pleased to find that he is of exactly the same opinion as myself as to what ought to be done. He considers that sending a couple of officers to Yunan, unsupported by any force, to be mere spectators of a Chinese trial, is an utterly useless and even mischievous measure. We should simply inform the Chinese that we intend to march a force to the spot and keep it there at their expense until we have completed the inquiry we wish to make. Unless our Government is prepared to do this, it may as well abandon all hope of obtaining redress except by still more serious military measures. He instances the case of a row a short time ago at Ching-kiang. Two consular officers were sent there to make an inquiry. But they went in two men-of-war. Had they gone without these they might as well have stayed at home. The matter was satisfactorily settled in a week. If officers without an armed force would have been useless at Ching-kiang, what good are they likely to do at such a remote place as Yunan, where the people are doubtless ignorant that we have any footing at all in China. Mr. Wade probably made the proposal to despatch these two unprotected officers in a hurry, and the Chinese having complied with the demand, he finds it difficult to back out of the matter with good grace. These are Sir H. Parkes's views, but they are formed without an exact knowledge of the instructions Mr. Wade may have received from the Home Government, and by which he is probably hampered in his movements.

SHANGHAI, *July 11.*—I find Mr. Wade more undecided and pessimistic than ever. Shall he send Grosvenor and Baber on their fool's errand or not? That is the question. He candidly admits that he has not the slightest hope of their doing any good. Some few heads may be cut off in Yunan, but they will not be those of the men who murdered Margary or attacked me. So sure is he that by this means the truth will not be discovered that he would personally like to abandon this part of his programme, and

make the occurrence simply a pretext for extorting other concessions from the Chinese. But for such a policy he would not obtain the sanction of the Home Government. Public opinion has cried loudly for the punishment of the offenders, and however unattainable he knows this object may be, he is bound to take such steps as will seem to indicate that he is pursuing it. He thinks of sending me with Grosvenor. This announcement I do not hail with enthusiasm. I have no wish to be identified with another failure, when I know that no real public advantage will result from it.

*July 15.*—To-day arrives important intelligence which again disturbs Mr. Wade's equanimity. Li-Hung-Chang, the great Viceroy, charged by his Government to conduct the negotiations, nominated his own brother, Li-Han-Chang, Viceroy of Hu-Kwang, to superintend the inquiry, whereupon Mr. Wade sent Grosvenor and Baber to Wu-chang to interview Li-Han-Chang. Their report has now been received, and it is far from being satisfactory. The Viceroy received his visitors politely, and admitted that he had orders to go to Yunan, make an inquiry into Margary's murder, and punish the guilty parties, but he professed to be in utter ignorance of the details of the affair, and did not even seem desirous of learning anything about it. As for the attack upon me, he had never even heard of it, and would have nothing to do with it as it was not mentioned in his orders. In vain Grosvenor urged that this was, from an international point of view, the most serious part of the affair. The Emperor had not mentioned it, so he would not hear anything about it. For him it was non-existent. He made a remark, however, about the number of persons with me being in excess of that allowed by the passport, which showed that he was not so ignorant as he pretended to be. As for the safety of Grosvenor in Yunan he would guarantee nothing. That was the affair of the Viceroy. He examined the passports with critical curiosity, and seemed to doubt their validity because the seal was indistinct. All this Mr.

Wade considers highly unsatisfactory. The pretended ignorance of Li-Han-Chang about the attack upon me, and his determination not to include it within the scope of his inquiry, augur badly for the *bonâ fides* of the Chinese Government. So also do his remarks about the safety of the mission and the validity of the passports.

Though I do not venture to suggest it, I am not sure that Mr. Wade himself is not partly to blame for the omission to include the attack upon me in the Viceroy's instructions; for, in the passport applied for, the form of which was drawn up in Mr. Wade's office, Margary's murder only is mentioned, nothing being said about me. This was a *lapsus calami* of which the wily and observant Chinamen have not failed to take advantage.

Mr. Wade at once writes a sharp letter to Prince Kung, demanding an explanation of the conduct of Li-Han-Chang. He also makes up his mind that it is no use my lingering any longer here on the chance of taking part in an expedition which may never start, "and which will do no good if it does start," he might have added, but did not.

We hear that my defeat is the subject of placards and caricatures posted up in the capital of Suchuen.

By a telegram from India we learn that a force will be sent to the Burma-Chinese frontier, Manwaing, to meet Grosvenor and escort him through the Kakhyeng hills. This shows that the objection of the Indian Government to send a small force into Burma has been overcome, and this ought in my opinion to be made a new point of departure in the negotiations with Peking. Instead of making a slow and arduous journey through the whole breadth of China, why should not Grosvenor's party accompany this force, and under its protection prosecute the inquiry at Manwaing?

In this way the chances of arriving at the truth would be much greater than they can possibly be in an inquiry held at Yunan under the presidency of a Viceroy who ought himself to be one of the accused. But this does not harmonize with Mr. Wade's ideas.

July 24.—Mr. Wade writes officially to say that the interview with Li-Han-Chang having been so unsatisfactory, he has decided on foregoing all idea of a mission until he can see his way more clearly. I am, therefore, to return to India.

On my last visit to Mr. Wade I found him deeply impressed with the idea that he is being humbugged by the Chinese. Li-Hung-Chang says one thing, and his brother Li-Han-Chang says another. The first is procrastinating in order to prepare for all eventualities. He is purchasing warlike stores and even the Yunan Viceroy has been trying to raise money from the Oriental Bank. Mr. Wade will now go back to Peking and address the Government in a very decided tone. He will peremptorily demand measures which will guarantee a thorough change in Chinese policy. Under threat of striking his flag he will require :

Redress for the Yunan outrage, including a sufficient escort for Grosvenor ;

Censure of the Viceroy, Ts'en-yu-ling for having during six months neglected to furnish any serious account of the Yunan affair, such censure to be published in the *Peking Gazette*, and to be couched in terms which imply the equality of the Chinese and British Governments ;

Tangible proof of a determination to fulfil treaty engagements, both as regards commerce and diplomatic relations. The policy which leaves the people of China in ignorance of the rights of other nations, while it encourages hostility to foreigners, must once for all be abandoned ;

The despatch of a minister of high rank to England, to express regret for the Yunan outrage, the decree for such appointment to appear in the *Peking Gazette*.

Mr. Wade has no great hope that these thoroughgoing demands will be complied with, and contemplates the necessity of withdrawing the legation to Hong Kong.

So, after five months negotiations, Mr. Wade is no further advanced than he was on the first day. As the Chinese have practically withdrawn the one concession made—viz.,

the inquiry before British officers, by refusing to guarantee the safety of such officers, Mr. Wade has to begin his task again from the very beginning. I urge that this seems a good opportunity for adopting the only practical way of obtaining redress—viz., that of sending officers under the protection of an armed force from Burma to make an inquiry on the spot at Manwaing. He quite agrees with me that this is really the only effectual plan, but does not explain why he will not adopt it. That is his secret. I surmise that the reason is that in such a case the matter would be entirely in the hands of the Government of India, whilst he wishes to use it as a lever by which to extort concessions of divers kinds, in which India has no direct interest from the Chinese. The Home Government is not the promoter of this policy, for in all its despatches greater stress is laid upon the necessity of obtaining the punishment of the offenders in Yunan than upon anything else, and in subordinating such punishment to other considerations Mr. Wade is carrying out his own pet scheme.

So ends the second act of the Yunan expedition, as unsatisfactorily as the first. My rôle in it has been that of posting Mr. Wade up in the facts of the case, and consulting with him as to the best means of punishing the offenders, and so facilitating further attempts to open out the Burma-China frontier trade. Mr. Wade's aims are different. His ideas have, at any rate, the merit of being broader than mine. I look at things from the Indian and he from the Imperial point of view. For him, in the "Yunan Affair," Yunan itself must take a very back place, and serve simply as a stepping-stone to something higher. The Yunan frontier trade, which the Indian Government has taken so much pains to foster, is in Mr. Wade's eyes of very little interest, except in so far as it furnishes him with a good pretext for obtaining advantages for trade on the other side of China, by which not only England but all foreign nations will benefit. Still, his scheme for deluding the public with the idea that good will result from

sending a couple of officers to be spectators at the farce of a Chinese trial, is repugnant to my ideas of what is right.

LONDON, *April*, 1876.—I have received official and authentic intelligence of the progress made by Mr. Wade since I left him at Shanghai in July last. He then stated that he was just starting for Peking, where he was going to deal very seriously with the Chinese Government. He did not reach the capital till September 12, having spent the interval at Tientsin, in dalliance, and being trifled with by that astute old "heathen Chinese," the Viceroy Li-Hung-Chang.

Soon after I left, Prince Kung informed him that those who attacked me were not Chinese but wild mountain men whose object was plunder, and against such men, the Prince said, the Chinese would be unable to protect Grosvenor. Mr. Wade replied that, in face of well-established facts, this was but an idle tale, and he requested the Prince not to trifle with him.

In August the report of the Queen's speech on the prorogation of Parliament was received, and the paragraph which related to the Yunan affair made an impression on the Celestial mind. It said: "The representations which I addressed to the Chinese Government as to the attack made on the expedition sent from Burma to the Western Provinces of China have been received in a friendly spirit. The circumstances of that lamentable outrage are now the subject of an inquiry in which I have thought it right to request that a member of my diplomatic service should take part. I await the result of this inquiry in the firm conviction that it will be so conducted as to lead to the discovery and punishment of the offenders."

The fact of the matter being mentioned in the Queen's speech showed the Chinese that it was looked upon as a serious one in England, but the form must have amused them.

If the Home Government is really of opinion that the inquiry is likely to lead to the "discovery and punishment

of the offenders" it must be blessed with a strong dose of "naiveté," or have been grievously misinformed. The supposition that the fact of a couple of British officers being allowed to listen to—but not to "take part in" (though in the speech this expression is used)—an inquiry conducted by Chinese into their own conduct is likely to lead to the discovery of the truth, is really too paradoxical. However, immediately afterwards Kwo-Sung-tao was appointed to be Ambassador to England, to convey an apology to the English Queen for the Yunan outrage, and Ts'en-yu-ying, the Viceroy of Yunan, was censured in the *Pekin Gazette* for his delay in reporting on the Yunan affair.

Thus, two of Mr. Wade's demands were complied with. And so, too, my expedition will come to mark one of the greatest epochs in Chinese history—the one in which the first breach was made in the wall of exclusiveness with which that people has surrounded itself, and when its Emperor was forced to admit before his own people that he is not the only monarch in this world. This is nothing less than a revolution.

On his return to Peking in September, Mr. Wade recommenced his series of threatening letters to the Chinese Government. On the 24th he informed them that "Her Majesty's Government must reckon on other means than treaties, of which the majority of Chinese officials are ignorant, or which the few acquainted with them never hesitate to ignore."

On the 28th he announced that he was about to haul down his flag unless the whole of his demands were immediately complied with, and on the following day the Chinese began to yield by acknowledging that "the circumstances of the past and present times are not the same," and consenting to allow intercourse between foreign ministers and the heads of State departments. They instructed Mr. Hart to prepare a report on the taxation of foreign trade, and officers were appointed to regulate

the land trade. The passport question, also, was satisfactorily settled. At length, in the beginning of October, the *Pekin Gazette* contained a decree in the sense required by Mr. Wade, and for the first time in history the equality of foreign governments with that of China was publicly admitted.

Now Mr. Wade thought it was time to proceed with the make-believe inquiry in Yunan, the *fons et origo* of this long diplomatic struggle. The Chinese guaranteed the safety of the mission, and on October 5 Messrs. Grosvenor, Baber, and Davenport left Shanghai for Yunan. The last-named was joined to the party on account of his knowledge of Anglo-Chinese law, though it may be doubted whether such knowledge will be of much practical use when its possessor is to be a mere silent spectator of the vagaries of a Chinese tribunal.

Mr. Wade does not anticipate, any more than he did at an earlier stage, that any good will result from this mission. It is despatched simply in deference to unenlightened public sentiment in England, as expressed by the Home Government. Mr. Wade spoke of it himself as a "fool's errand," and after its departure he wrote to the Government as follows: "For any amount of puerility and duplicity we must be prepared. . . . As to justice being done, I have never been so sanguine as to assume that it would be. Although, as a matter of principle, I insisted upon the admission of British agents to watch the proceedings, I never thought it probable that we should establish the guilt of the really culpable."

If this plain-speaking despatch, which contains the sentiments entertained by Mr. Wade from the very first, had been written earlier, or before Grosvenor's departure, it might have opened the Government's eyes and made it doubt the wisdom of sending Grosvenor on his fool's errand. At any rate the Queen's speech would not have contained the assertion that the inquiry "will be so conducted as to lead to the discovery and punishment of the offenders."



One good result may possibly be attained by this mission. It may prevent a number of innocent men from having their heads cut off. But however satisfactory this may be from the humanitarian point of view, it can hardly be looked upon as an adequate compensation for the outrage on the Indian Government.

*(To be continued.)*

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Caxton Hall on Tuesday, May 7, 1907, at four p.m., a paper was read by Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E., on "Imperial Preference, Cobdenism, or Swadeshi—which is best for India?" A. Bonar Law, Esq., M.P., presiding. There were present amongst others: Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Elliot, K.C.S.I., Sir Edward Sassoon, Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir J. A. Bains, Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Colonel E. Presgrave, D.S.O., Colonel R. H. Jennings, C.S.I., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. A. K. Connell, M.A., Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. J. D. Anderson, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Gorell Barnes, J.P., D.L., Mr. L. J. Maxse, Mr. R. F. Chisholm, Mr. R. G. Orr, Mr. Gerald Ritchie, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. Arathoon, Mr. S. Digby, Mr. A. Rogers, Mr. A. G. Wise, Mr. A. H. Khudad Khan, Mr. Donald Reid, Mr. C. C. Ghose, Mr. Vishwanath Sahay Sinha, Mr. Harold S. Neale, Mr. Haji A. Majid, Mr. Martin Wood, Mr. and Mrs. J. D. Bush, Mr. Parmeshwar Lall, Mr. S. M. Manga, Mr. S. N. Sinha, Mr. P. L. Misra, Mr. H. A. Hosein, Mr. G. Eldon Manisty, Mr. Q. T. Husein, Mr. D. Sassoon, Mr. R. N. Hartley Reid, Mr. W. M. J. Williams, Mr. Pandit Bhugwandin Dube, Mr. F. Robert Bush, Mr. F. H. Barrow, Mr. R. Wade, Mr. Stuart R. Cope, Mr. A. S. Erulkar, Mr. S. R. Bomanji, Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Harold B. Taylor, Mr. N. N. Ghatak, Mr. M. K. Wagle, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN, having formally introduced the lecturer, the paper was read.\*

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I have no doubt that many varieties of fiscal opinion are represented in this meeting this afternoon, but in the first duty which falls upon me now I am sure I shall have the sympathy of every one present, and that is in expressing our indebtedness to Sir Roper Lethbridge for his very able paper—a paper which, in my opinion, is a model of courtesy in the reference he has made to gentlemen with whom he disagrees; and it is, at the same time, a paper which expresses most clearly, most forcibly, and most moderately, the views which he holds on the important question we have met here to discuss this afternoon.

Now, this paper has suggested a great variety of food for thought, and the difficulty really is to make a selection from it; but the first point to which I will direct your attention very briefly is one of the last to which he has alluded, and that is the supposed connection between the Brussels Sugar Convention and the increase of the duties on tea by Russia. I must say it seems to me incredible that a man could imagine that he could found on that question an argument in favour of the continuance of our present fiscal relations with India. What is the connection? In the first place, what

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\* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

ground is there for supposing that the two incidents have any connection at all, except as having occurred at the same time? It is true, as Sir Roper Lethbridge has pointed out, that Sir Edward Grey has lent the authority of his name to the belief that the two questions were connected. But, ladies and gentlemen, he has not done what I am bound to say anyone, I think, in his position ought to have done—accompanied that statement of opinion by any evidence whatever in favour of that opinion. (Hear, hear.) On the face of it, I am bound to say it seems absolutely improbable. It is improbable for this reason: that if that really were the motive of Russia, it was most distinctly an unfriendly act towards this country, and an unfriendly act which had absolutely no justification whatever. It was an attempt, if that was the motive, to penalize India for something which had been done by somebody else. But even supposing it is an attempt to penalize us through India, well, gentlemen, we must not forget that the Brussels Convention was signed by a great many Powers besides the United Kingdom, and, therefore, this argument, if it proves anything, proves this: that Russia did not dare to retaliate against nations which would hit back, but that she did dare to retaliate on us because we had deliberately tied our hands behind our backs, and had declared in the face of the world that, as far as trade is concerned, the principle of our policy is, if anyone smites us on the one cheek, to turn to them the other also. (Laughter.)

But, ladies and gentlemen, it is improbable for another reason. Every one knows, as was so clearly pointed out by Sir Roper Lethbridge, that Russia has for some time been fostering the growth of tea in the Caucasus. The teas grown there are rather of a quality that compete with India. It has always been the policy of Russia to stimulate her own products by putting higher and higher duties upon products coming from abroad which compete with them. It was perfectly natural that they should adopt that course in regard to these duties as well; and in the face of an explanation so obvious, is it not really absurd to go hunting about for some other wild-cat explanation which would be, if it were true, only a confession of folly on the part of this country, and which would, at the same time, be highly discreditable to Russia? (Hear, hear.) But, ladies and gentlemen, I am going into this at a little more length, because it touches, perhaps, a wider field. Let us assume that that was the object which Russia had in view. In what way does it affect this case? It obviously does not affect the Preference case, for Preference is not involved. If it affects it at all it only affects it on the assumption that, if we dare to do what every other country in the world is doing now, if we adapt our fiscal system to what we consider our own needs and in our own interests, all the countries of the world will retaliate against us and make our position absolutely untenable. Let us suppose that this was the object that the Russians had in view. If it were their object, obviously they took the most effective measures—they would be fools otherwise—of retaliating against us. What was the result? As was pointed out in the paper read this afternoon, and as was pointed out by Sir James Mackay the other day at the Conference, it had no effect whatever apparently on the

trade of India with Russia. Now, does not that prove, if this argument is worth anything at all, how invulnerable India is, and how difficult it would be under any circumstances for retaliation to be adopted towards her? (Hear, hear.) But there is more than that in it. When I find people seriously giving that as an example of the failure of the policy of retaliation, I can only account for it on the supposition that they think that we, who advocate a change in our policy, are bigger fools even than we are. (Laughter.) No man—at least, no sane man—suggests as a fiscal policy a policy of retaliation on the part of our rivals, and the policy of Quakerism on our own part. If there is to be retaliation it must be on both sides. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I am sure there is no one—and I should be the last—who would look forward with anything but fear and alarm to a policy of retaliation in trade. None of us want that; none of us expect that; but that is not the sole thing that we have to consider. We have to consider also, supposing we adopt a policy which by any conceivable process would result in retaliation, who would gain most and who would lose most if such a fight had to take place. (Applause.) Of all the countries in the world, with the possible exception of the United States—and I doubt even if she is an exception—partly owing to the fact that we can within the British Empire receive in such large measure all the products we require, and partly owing to the fact that our home market is, for all our industrial rivals, the most important market in the world, there is no one which is so invulnerable as regards retaliation, there is no one with regard to which we are so little likely to have it resorted to or so little to fear from it. (Applause.) But, ladies and gentlemen, that reminds me, and a quotation that was read this afternoon reminds me, that we, who are fighting for a change in our system, have one serious disadvantage. Our opponents have a great superiority, if they have not an absolute monopoly, in clap-trap cries. One of them was quoted in the paper this afternoon: "Tariff wars are always bad." Of course a tariff war is bad. Of course a tariff war would not be necessary if both sides were reasonable. But all kinds of wars are bad. (Hear, hear.) Other wars are bad, and even worse, than tariff wars, but is that a reason why anyone suggests that we should, under no circumstances, be able to engage in war? If it is not our duty in the face of foreign nations who might possibly become our enemies to discharge our soldiers, to do away with our navy, why in the world is it our duty in trade matters to stand naked and defenceless in the presence of rivals who are all armed to the teeth? (Applause.)

Well, ladies and gentlemen, the next subject to which I would devote a few remarks is suggested by something that happened the other day. The case for Cobdenism, as the lecturer called it—a name that was objected to, I noticed, by a gentleman at the back of the room, and with some reason, for I do not think Cobden was nearly such a fool as those who call themselves by his name now—(laughter)—the case for Cobdenism, or for free imports, was put very clearly and very forcibly the other day by Sir James Mackay—and it was put from a very exalted pedestal—as the representative of India on the Imperial Conference. Ladies and gentlemen, I must protest against what seems to me the absurd position in which

Sir James Mackay was placed on that occasion by the British Government. (Hear, hear.) I make this protest certainly with no want of respect to Sir James Mackay. I have the honour of his acquaintance. I had also the privilege a year or two ago of serving on a Departmental Committee with him, and I had an opportunity then of noticing the qualities which explained and justified the high reputation he enjoys, but Sir James Mackay was placed in an entirely false position. Apparently the British Government felt lonely at the Conference. (Hear, hear.) They thought it would be a master-stroke to produce something which they could call "the voice of India" to fight against the unanimous and decided opinion of all the self-governing Colonies. (Applause.) But the Prime Ministers of these Colonies were representative. Each of them represented, in a way in which no other man could represent, the community for which he spoke. (Hear, hear.) In what sense could Sir James Mackay, or for that matter could anybody, be a representative of India? (Hear, hear.) He did not represent the native population of India. He did not represent the Anglo-Indians. (A Voice : "He never did.") Of all the possible views of fiscal questions—and they are very numerous—of all the possible views, I am certain of this : that the views put forward by Sir James Mackay would find less support, and were less representative of the opinion either native or British, than any conceivable view which could be put forward by anybody. (Applause.) Sir James Mackay did not represent even the permanent Government of India. It is true he was a member of the Legislative Council, but he was selected to appear at the Conference, not for that reason, but because his views agreed with those of the men who selected him—(laughter)—and if by any chance his views had been different, not he, but somebody else, would have been chosen to represent India on that occasion.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, Sir James Mackay represented there, as everybody knows and as he himself must know, the British Government of the day, and he represented nothing else. (Hear, hear.) "The hands were the hands of Esau, but the voice was the voice of Jacob." It was not the voice of India ; it was only an echo of the voice of Downing Street. But, ladies and gentlemen, while saying all this, I am the first to admit that I feel certain that Sir James Mackay could put the free import case as well as it possibly could be put, and I am bound to say that from my point of view it is a great pleasure to see the case clearly stated so that we can see exactly what is its strength and what is its weakness. Now, the first criticism that I would make of this statement of Sir James Mackay is this : that the whole tenor of the statement is not to show that Preference between India and the United Kingdom would be bad. He said, for instance—which is a good illustration of the way that our free import people talk as if the thing were all settled—that anything which limits the flow of trade would be bad for India. That is obvious—(hear, hear)—but it is begging the whole question. We who are in favour of a change in our fiscal system are in favour of it because we believe, not that it will limit, but that it will increase, the total volume of trade throughout the whole British Empire. (Hear, hear.) Indeed, when Sir James Mackay left these general considerations and spoke about India, it seemed to me at least that all the facts which he

put forward, and even all his arguments relating specially to India, tended to strengthen, and not to weaken, the case which has been put before us by Sir Roper Lethbridge this afternoon. He admitted, in the first place, that Preference with India would be a good thing for the United Kingdom. He put it that a third of our total exports to India are subject to foreign competition, and, as a business man, he realized at once what the value of a Preference must be to us on so large a proportion of our trade with India. But, after all, it is not the trade of to-day only which most concerns us in this question. It is the tendency of the trade. It is the trade of to-morrow as well. (Hear, hear.) Of all the trades which this country has with India, by far the most important is our cotton industry, and it is assumed that any change in our fiscal system would be fatal to that industry. The beginning of competition in India is already there, but it is only the beginning. More is coming. (Hear, hear.) There is not, I think, a single man who is acquainted with the Lancashire trade, and is looking at the signs of the times, who does not realize that we shall have to face from Japan, and to face soon, a competition in India, which is certain to be severe, and which might possibly be deadly. The Japanese are already showing in the arts of peace precisely the same qualities they displayed a year or two ago in the arts of war, and are adopting Western methods. They are building up behind tariff walls a great cotton industry, and in a very few years inevitably, with the advantages of cheap labour they enjoy, they will be competing with Lancashire in India, and competing in a manner that, without Preference, we shall find it extremely difficult to meet. (Applause.) Now, with our present fiscal system, we cannot do anything to relieve that competition. We cannot do it. But if it is possible to get this system of Preference, if it is possible to give India something which is worth her while, then we are entitled to say to India—entitled justly as well as by the powers we exercise through our control of her—"In exchange for what we give you we wish you to give us something in India to make us at least secure, not against your competition, but against the competition of our foreign rivals." (Hear, hear.)

Ladies and gentlemen, as I say, Sir James Mackay did admit that it would be an advantage to us, but he did not admit it would be any advantage to India. That seems to me very extraordinary. Of our total imports from India the great bulk now are subject in this country, not only to taxation, but to excessively high taxation. I will take only three subjects, but they are important. Take tea, take coffee, and take tobacco. The duty on those in this country is enormously high. It would be possible, if we thought it worth while, to give a very big Preference, and the effect of that Preference would be enormously to stimulate the trade of all these industries, and must be a great advantage to India. (Hear, hear.) That reminds me of an argument I have heard used once or twice, and which shows the inconsistency of our opponents on this question. They say, "What is the good of talking about Preference on tea? The great bulk of your tea comes from India already." They do not want a Preference. Then they say, in the same breath almost, "What is the good of talking about Preference for Australian wine? The quantity that comes is so small that it

is no good talking about Preference." But, after all, 10 per cent. at least of our tea still comes from abroad. That 10 per cent. means a good deal, and a Preference would undoubtedly gradually get to India a large share of that 10 per cent., and probably the whole of that 10 per cent. (Mr. A. G. Wise: "Why not abolish the duty altogether?") I should be glad if there were any other means of getting revenue. If I am not wearying you I should like to put another point to you with regard to tea only. Tea is really, as much as corn, consumed in every family in this country. More than that, the poorer a family is, the greater the quantity of tea in proportion which is used compared with any other article. Now, it is no good saying that tea is not a necessity. The real point of view on these questions is not what the working classes ought to spend their money on; it is what they do spend their money on; and, as a matter of fact, in every family tea is used as much as corn, and a relief in the duty on tea would be as much a relief to that family as if it were on corn. I would like to suggest a consideration here which is apart from Preference. Lord Rosebery, a few years ago, said we ought to conduct these things on business lines. Now, here is a business suggestion. We use in all families tea and corn. The foreign corn comes largely from countries like Russia and the United States, who buy from us nothing they can avoid buying. The tea comes from India, and we are their best customers. As a matter of business, would not it be worth our while to lower the duty on tea to stimulate the production, and in that way increase the buying powers of the people who are our customers, instead of increasing the buying powers of those not our customers? (Hear, hear.) I would only mention further, in passing, the question of sugar, which was referred to by our lecturer, and this additional fact, that, in addition to the advantage India would get on existing duties, she has the same means as the self-governing Colonies of producing grain, and would share equally with them a Preference on the grain introduced into this country.

The last point that I wish to refer to in Sir James Mackay's address to the Conference is this. The real argument which he brought forward against Preference as applied to India alone was that so large a proportion of the export trade of India is done with foreign countries, that if we did anything which offended those foreign countries the trade with India would be in danger. But he gave his own answer to that difficulty. He pointed out that the exports from India to these countries are all practically raw material, and, as was pointed out by Sir Edward Law, and as everybody knows, the tariff system of Germany, for instance, has been carefully thought out. It is based on principle, and the principle is this: They encourage the importation of raw material, and they discourage the importation of any manufactured articles. Therefore, obviously, Germany could not retaliate upon India without going against the whole principle upon which her fiscal system is based. Take one article as an illustration, and it is typical of all. Supposing Germany were to put a prohibitive duty on jute. What would be the result? It would be a godsend to this country, to begin with. At present our jute manufacturers are struggling, and not very successfully, in competition with German manufacturers even

in the home market, and still more in foreign and neutral markets. If Germany deliberately cut off the chief source of jute supply, our manufacturers would immediately get a monopoly of that trade. Germany obviously could not do it. She could not do it, not only without sacrificing the principle on which her tariff is based, but could not do it without irreparably injuring many of the most important trades in that country. Obviously the danger of retaliation from a country like Germany is not in India, even if she wished to retaliate. It is not India she would turn to. She would try to retaliate against us, and we could find means to protect ourselves from such retaliation. (Applause.)

Now, there was one other remark made by Sir James Mackay, which I am reminded of by the reference to the Swadeshi movement by Sir Roper Lethbridge. Sir James Mackay, with a mildness which certainly implied a great amount of ignorance on the part of the Colonial Premiers and the British Government, said if we adopt this Colonial Preference India will demand Protection. Had he never heard of the Swadeshi movement? Does India not demand Protection now? There is this further point in connection with this matter which is very interesting: it knocked the bottom entirely out of the whole idea that trade must necessarily mean buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest. In countries like India, if the people of that country, without any control of their own taxation, are ready to make sacrifices of that kind in order to protect their own trade, how can you ever say that sentiment does not, and ought not to, play an extraordinarily large part in the development of trade? (Applause.)

Now, I think it is an extremely good thing—it is for that reason I came here this afternoon—that this question should be discussed. When the fiscal question was first raised, our opponents assumed, as if it was not a matter of argument, that India blocked the way; it was bound to be a disadvantage to India. The more papers we have such as we have listened to this afternoon, and what is of more importance,—for I attach more value to the papers of our opponents—the more papers you have like this read by Sir James Mackay, the more evident it will be that of all the parts of the British Empire the one which would benefit the most, and benefit most rapidly, is precisely that part which has been supposed to be a blot on the field—the British Indian Empire. (Loud applause.)

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said he desired to express the pleasure with which they had all listened to the excellent paper by Sir Roper Lethbridge, and to the exceedingly eloquent and pointed speech of the Chairman, which he confessed had, to some extent, changed his previous views. (Applause.) He changed his opinions very rapidly if convinced of the sincerity and correctness of what he heard, and he felt bound to say he had rarely heard the Preference case for India stated so admirably as it had been by the Chairman. (Loud applause.) With regard to what had been said about Sir James Mackay, he would remind the meeting that a short time ago the East India Association passed unanimously, and sent to the Government, a resolution regarding the representation of India at the then proposed Imperial Conference, to the effect that India should be assigned a place



proportionately to its importance in the Empire, and that her representation should include independent and unofficial members from British India and Native States adequately representing her important interests and industries. The receipt of that resolution was acknowledged by the Secretary of State, but in the person of Sir James Mackay he denied that that resolution had had any practical effect. As the Chairman had said, Sir James Mackay represented neither the people of India nor their interests, nor did Sir James Mackay represent the Viceroy of India, for Lord Minto had certainly, in a speech made on the occasion of a farewell dinner before going to India, given him (Sir Lepel Griffin) the impression that he was a devoted follower of Mr. Chamberlain, and he had not yet heard that Lord Minto had changed his opinions. With regard to all the matters that had been discussed that afternoon, he had not fully made up his mind, but he thought a Commission should be appointed simultaneously in India and at home to ascertain the opinions of those persons who had by their position, by their experience, and by their knowledge a right to give an opinion upon the important subject as to whether the proposals now made for preferential treatment of Indian imports and exports would be for the permanent benefit of India. Until that inquiry had taken place he did not believe that any decided answer could be given to the question. The preferential treatment of the Colonies by the Mother Country would undoubtedly be settled in its favour before any great length of time, and the ground would, at the next Conference, be clear for a full discussion of the Indian question, when India must be fully and properly represented.

SIR EDWARD SASSOON, M.P., agreed with the observations made by Sir Lepel Griffin as to the speech they had heard from the Chairman, and he thought if it had only succeeded in partly converting Sir Lepel Griffin to the principle of preferential treatment the meeting would not have been held in vain. (Laughter.) With the two alternative changes from the *status quo* indicated by the paper he entirely agreed—namely, either to give India a free hand for the purpose of negotiating or retaliating for any hostile tariff, or that India should be allowed to enter into a general scheme of Imperial Preference. Apart from the Swadeshi movement, taking a general view as to what was the best fiscal system for India, he had arrived at the conclusion that the time had come for some change to be made.

A great point had been made of the disapproval of Mr. Chamberlain's ideas expressed by the Indian Government in their Dispatch of October, 1903; but it was to be borne in mind that at that time the salient features governing the possibilities of the scheme were not before the Government of India, and also, which nobody knew better than Sir James Mackay knows, that the Indian authorities had since learned from bitter experience that it was not always India's interests that prevailed when any question of party controversy in this country happened to be in the throes of decision on the floor of the House of Commons. Another point was that Sir Edward Law, as Finance Minister, drew up an analysis of the position of India extremely favourable to the adoption of some scheme of Imperial

Preference, but when it came to summarizing the effects of that analysis the summary was distinctly unfavourable, and the only way that could be accounted for was that he was so frightened at the character of the analysis that he thought 'he might be hauled over the coals for going ahead of the Government authorities in England.

Then with reference to the imposition of excise duty upon Indian manufactured goods, which scarcely came into competition with Lancashire goods, nobody would seriously contend that that was done in the interests of Indian infant industries. It was notorious that it was not with the object of the maintenance of the Cobdenite doctrines in their unsullied and untarnished integrity, but more with the dread and apprehension of losing Lancashire votes, that induced the Secretary of State for India at that time to insist upon the imposition of excise duties. With regard to tea, that, he thought, should be looked upon as a manufactured article, but yet this Free Trade country put an abnormally high tax upon it. Then, when it is suggested that some little tax should be put upon the foreign manufactured goods that come into England, they were at once assured that the perdition of the British economic universe was near at hand. Similarly with reference to sugar and tobacco. Who could say that the industrial forces of India would not have been twice or three times what they were if at the critical juncture, and at the right moment, some amount of protection had been given to those industries forty or fifty years ago, and that the development of those industries would not have given fuller and more sustained employment to millions of natives who at present eked out a precarious existence on the verge of starvation? He thought all English statesmen recognized that fact, but were largely circumscribed by the desire not to let fall any expression which would discredit the theory that it was purely and simply in Indian interests that the Free Trade system was imposed on that country. When they came across able statesmen like Lord Curzon and strong personalities like Mr. Chamberlain, then the cobweb of one-sided Free Trade was brushed aside. Were he a Lancashire man interested in the Lancashire industries he should bring very possible influence to bear on inducing India to enter into a scheme of Imperial Preference, because the presumption was that in that case Lancashire goods would necessarily come into India upon a favourable basis. It might be said that that would make a hole in the income of the Indian Government. But how long would that hole remain? Under a general scheme of Imperial Preference India would be enabled to raise the duties upon foreign manufactured goods, and, in addition, there would be an enormous expansion and development of Indian industries and commerce, which would create fresh sources of wealth in that country, and the consuming powers of the masses would be largely increased, and in that way there would be an enhancement of the internal revenues.

The Chairman had asked very pointedly whether Sir James Mackay represented the people of India at the Imperial Conference. He regretted very much to have to say it, especially at that unfortunate conjuncture of events in a certain portion of India, but his duty to the country which had so generously sheltered his family for many generations compelled him to

say that in this matter Sir James Mackay did not speak for the people of India. He believed sincerely that there was a wide and impassable gulf between rulers and ruled on that question which was materially and primarily affecting the interests of India. He thought the public in England were entitled to have some dispatches produced which would show what position the Indian Government had been taking up since the fiscal development had taken place in England; but his own idea was that Sir James Mackay's views were the views of the Secretary of State for India. He yielded to no one in unbounded respect and admiration for Mr. Morley, but he could not avoid the conclusion that the Secretary of State was so steeped and saturated with Cobdenite principles that the eminent gentlemen who sat round the Secretary of State naturally took their cues from him. Until it could be shown that the leaders of commerce, the captains of industry, and the authorized exponents of banking and finance in India had been duly consulted, he, for one, refused to believe that India had said her last word on this matter.

MR. THORBURN said that though a whole-hearted supporter of the Tariff Reform policy, he had from the first felt that the weak spot in it was India. Where did India come in? Nowhere. For long after the great fiscal heresy was first promulgated, tariff reformers had ignored our Empire dependency with a population twenty-four times larger than that of all our Colonies put together. Sir Charles Elliott at last boldly outlined a plan which he thought would bring India into Mr. Chamberlain's scheme, and yet "not be unsatisfactory to India." Mr. Thorburn thought his plan neither adequate for his purpose nor fair to India, and in the paper he had read a year ago, entitled "The Place of India under Protection," criticizing Sir Charles Elliott's proposals, his (Mr. Thorburn's) main contention was that unless a scientific tariff could be devised which would be just in itself and acceptable to India, India would block the way to Tariff Reform. The conflicting interests of England (particularly Lancashire) and India were so irreconcilable that he thought the advice to be read between the lines of Lord Curzon's Dispatch of 1903 was absolutely sound—viz., practically to let sleeping dogs lie. He concluded his paper by saying that, like Lord Curzon and his Council, he "could not imagine" England conceding to India the right to protect her own industries against all rivals, including England, even as England should protect hers against all nations not in the Union. That to some extent was the argument used by Sir James Mackay the other day before the Imperial Conference, except that, unlike Sir Charles Elliott, he assumed that the present fiscal relations between India and England were satisfactory and approved by India. That assumption was, Mr. Thorburn held, erroneous. India endured from necessity the present fiscal settlement; she did not approve of it because it was not justice. Sir James Mackay, though officially described as "the representative of India," was really nothing more than the mouthpiece of the India Office speaking to his brief. The India Office—indeed, England generally—had hitherto treated India as a "tied house," or, he might suggest, as a milch cow, and the cow had given her master plenty of excellent milk below competitive prices in the shape

of seven or eight millions sterling derived from enormous duties levied on Indian tea, coffee, unrefined sugar, and tobacco. Besides, England forced her Lancashire piece-goods upon India to the amount of over twenty millions sterling a year by denying to India the right to put a duty on those goods. It was only after years of controversy that India extorted from England the privilege of putting a  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. duty upon Manchester goods, and even then the Lancashire manufacturers insisted that India should impose a countervailing duty of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on goods of the same counts manufactured in India.

With regard to the Swadeshi movement, he did not quite agree with Sir Roper Lethbridge in thinking that Swadeshi was "Protection." Legitimately it was rather a self-denying ordinance, chiefly by the Hindus, that they should buy nothing but the product of the mills of their own country, and as such the movement was meritorious and patriotic. The pity of it was that it was doomed to failure. Consumers sooner or later always buy in the cheapest market, as necessity forces them to get the greatest value for their money. The Chairman had most effectually exposed the retaliation bogey which had been trotted forth by Sir James Mackay and Mr. Morley. Their idea was that if India, or for that matter England, put, say, a 10 per cent. duty on German manufactured goods, Germany might retaliate by raising a tariff wall against the import of raw materials from India. As the Germans were a business-minded people, they would never starve and ruin their factories by buying the raw article anywhere but in the cheapest market—and India sold cheapest, and had a world monopoly of some articles—*e.g.*, jute. He fully agreed with Sir Lepel Griffin that until a Commission had been appointed and the whole question had been examined, it would be premature for anyone to say it was possible for India to come into the Tariff Union under fair conditions. His own view was that when the impending change in our fiscal policy took place, as certainly it would as soon as a prolonged trade depression took place in England, we would proceed with caution and circumspection, and if we found we could not come to a reasonable arrangement with India, we would say to her, "We cannot give up the import duties we levy on your tea, etc.; we must retain you as our largest market for our Lancashire goods. We agree to maintain the *status quo* with you which has worked not unsatisfactorily for thirteen years. To disarm your resentment, and remove your two chief grievances, we will permit you to raise your import duties on our cotton piece-goods to 5 per cent., and in addition you may abolish the objectionable countervailing excise duty we have hitherto compelled you to levy on your own products." He thought such a solution not improbable, and that it would be accepted by India. (Applause.)

MR. GERALD RITCHIE said he was unable to concur with the Chairman in his commendation of Sir Roper Lethbridge's paper, as it appeared to him to be far from conciliatory in tone, and unlikely to succeed, if its object was to win favour in India for the point of view taken up. For instance, with reference to the Swadeshi movement, they all knew that the self-governing Colonies protected themselves against Lancashire by very

high duties, and they were not treated as unpatriotic for so doing. On the contrary, the Premiers were being welcomed in England, and it was agreed they had a right to advocate what they thought best for their own country. Those who had been in Bengal had seen whole villages of cotton-weavers ruined by the introduction of cheap manufactured piece-goods; and it was not to be surprised at that, on the principle laid down by John Stuart Mill of the legitimacy of protecting infant industries, Indians should ask to be allowed to protect themselves against Lancashire. It was a perfectly reasonable position to take up; but Sir Roper Lethbridge said that Indian protection against Lancashire would be "an act of the most unfriendly character and distinctly unpatriotic towards the Empire," and that the industrial cataclysm it would produce throughout England and Scotland ought to make it "unthinkable to every loyal subject of King Edward, whether Indian or European." What would Mr. Deakin, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and the other distinguished Colonial statesmen at present visiting England say to being by implication called disloyal because they differed from Sir Roper Lethbridge? He trusted that that passage would be excised from the paper. Throughout the discussion they had not heard anything from the point of view of the Indians themselves, the Indian consumers, and it had all proceeded from the point of view of the English and Indian manufacturers. They had had no Indian speakers. It had been a one-sided discussion, and the views of those members who agreed with Mr. Mitra, when he addressed a previous meeting under the presidency of Lord Reay, were unrepresented during two hours of discussion. At this late hour, when the audience were longing to get away, he would not inflict upon them a speech, but he desired to say that he differed completely from every sentiment expressed by the lecturer and the succeeding speakers. He agreed with the masterly and unanimous Dispatch of the Government of India of October 22, 1903, in which it was demonstrated that India had everything to lose and nothing to gain by adopting the ill-defined schemes of the tariff reformers. He resented the attacks made on Sir James Mackay. Under its existing constitution, of course, nobody can claim to represent India, but Sir James Mackay, who had been for some years President of the Chamber of Commerce of Calcutta, was the worthy spokesman for the present Government, which alone was responsible for the financial and fiscal system of India, and he claimed no other position. If, as had been suggested, a Commission were sent to India to ascertain Indian views, there is no doubt that, as the lecturer himself admitted, the preponderating weight of the leaders of Indian public opinion, such as Mr. Gokhale, the Gaekwar of Baroda, Romesh Chunder Dutt, Dadabhai Naoroji, Rash Behari Ghosh, Subramani Iyer, and Sir P. Mehta, would be cast in favour of protection of Indian manufactures, not specially against Germany and Japan, but against Great Britain. It seemed a thousand pities to stir up controversy by inviting India to claim a one-sided protection against the foreigner which could only conduce to increasing the profits of English manufacturers.

MR. S. R. BOMANJI wished to correct a statement he understood Mr. Gerald Ritchie to have made—namely, that the cotton-weavers of India had

to pay excise duty. The excise duty was only paid on the machine-made goods, the hand-loom industry being absolutely exempt. One great reason why India should resort to Preference was what was happening in Japan. In 1895 they used to export from India to Japan at least 150,000 bales per annum. Since, Japan had raised the tariff against the imports of yarn. In ten years the export of Indian yarn had dwindled down to almost nothing. He was connected with the manufacture of cotton in India, and also acquainted with the Japanese market. That showed that if trade was protected it would lose its ground. While Lancashire was passing through an industrial boom, the Bombay mills were working short time, and it was due to nothing else but losing their market in Japan and also China, where Japan was their greatest competitor. If nothing was done to protect it, the whole spinning industry of Bombay was doomed. He had visited Japan twelve months ago, and found that every mill was adding 20 to 30 per cent. to its spinning power. Not one single spindle had been added to increase yarn production in the Bombay mills, but, on the contrary, certain mills had decreased their capacity for spinning in consequence of the competition in the Chinese market, by adding looms and turning out cloth for Indian markets.

MR. W. M. J. WILLIAMS said that, with reference to the remarks made by the Chairman about Sir James Mackay, it had occurred to him whether, if a gentleman of Sir James Mackay's experience had been appointed by a Tory Government with regard to some matter not connected with tariff, Mr. Bonar Law would have objected to that gentleman as representing India. Mr. Bonar Law had put the matter in a very skilful way as affecting the whole British Empire, including the English people, who were sometimes forgotten by the advocates of Preference; but when Mr. Bonar Law spoke about taxing tea and tobacco, and similar products coming from India, he used the phrase "if we could possibly give something to India." He (Mr. Williams) should have liked to have asked Mr. Bonar Law what he would give. Supposing these things were admitted free into this country, what was to take their place? If the time ever came when the people of England had to choose between a tax on tea, and a tax on corn and manufactures, he, for one, was not afraid of the result.

COLONEL C. E. YATE: I should just like to say a word to offer our special thanks to Sir Roper Lethbridge for the contribution he has given us to-day to our knowledge regarding India and Imperial Preference—a contribution that is most welcome at the present time, when all of us who are connected with India and have the interests of India at heart are engaged considering what the effects may be of Sir James Mackay's recent speech before the Imperial Conference—a speech, by the way, that was rather summarily treated by a subsequent speaker at that Conference, Dr. Smart, of Cape Colony, who there and then said that he "doubted whether the view of the Indian Government as stated in the speech of Sir James Mackay was really the view of Anglo-Indians and of the Indian people." The question as to whose views Sir James Mackay really represented, whether of the Government of India, or of the people of India, or of who, has been already dwelt upon this evening. The question of Sir James Mackay's

appointment as the sole representative of India at the Conference has also been remarked upon of late. Some six weeks ago our distinguished President, when speaking in this hall, told us, as you will find reported in the Proceedings of this Society, published in the last issue of the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW that "the representatives of India will be so competent, so carefully selected, that they will be a match for the Colonial Premiers." We also heard, according to the *Times* report, that the Premiers would find the Indian representative a "hard nut to crack." All I can say is that I do not think—I cannot think—that this is the spirit in which India herself wishes to be represented at the Conference, and I hope it is not the spirit in which India will be represented at the next Conference. India does not want to pose as "a hard nut to crack," or to prove herself "a match for the Colonial Premiers." What India wishes is to be allowed to study the question impartially for herself, and to be allowed to decide for herself what system is most to her advantage. Our Chairman to-day told us that though Sir James Mackay in his speech had practically admitted that Imperial Preference would be good for the United Kingdom, he did not admit that it would be beneficial to India.

I must confess that Sir James Mackay's speech, as reported in the précis, did not strike me in that light. Sir James Mackay in his concluding words claimed, as was so promptly pointed out by Dr. Smart at the Conference, that India should retain the advantages to be derived from a system of Preference by others, while giving nothing herself in return. This seemed to me to indicate that Sir James Mackay himself could not but acknowledge that advantages would accrue to India under a system of Preference, but yet was bound by his brief to oppose it. An illogical position, which, if it is the case, can never be maintained.

There is one other point that has not been touched upon to-day by previous speakers. At Mr. Mitra's lecture here in March last a letter was read from Sir James Mackay, which you will find printed in the Society's Proceedings in the last number of the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW. In this letter Sir James Mackay stated that Mr. Mitra's paper was "concise, unexaggerated, economically correct as far as my humble judgment goes, and I agree with every one of his statements."

Now, one of Mr. Mitra's main statements was that the interests of the 300 voiceless millions of India were to be sacrificed to Imperial Preference just as they had been sacrificed before to the Sugar Convention. The fiction of the Sugar Convention and the Russian enhanced tea duties has been completely exploded here to-day, and Sir James Mackay himself had previously disposed of it in his speech before the Imperial Conference when he stated that "the Russian surtax had proved to be of no account, the Indian export of tea having increased from 1½ million pounds in 1901-1902 to 10 million pounds in 1905-1906."

Now, what are we to think of the representative of India who writes one day that he agrees with a statement that the Russian tea duties enhanced as an answer to the Sugar Convention "made India suffer substantially," and shortly after states that these same Russian tea duties "had proved to be of no account"? I cannot understand it at all.

One thing, however, seems to stand out clearly, and that is that the interests of this country and of India are identical, and that what is good for the one is good for the other. Even Sir James Mackay himself was compelled to acknowledge that "the interests of India were indissolubly bound up with the interests of Great Britain and their oversea dominions." Imperial Preference is the one thing that will unite the Empire, and Mr. Balfour told us at the Albert Hall last Friday Imperial Preference is the policy that will ultimately be adopted by this country. When Imperial Preference is adopted in this country we may be sure it will be adopted in India too.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, replying on the whole discussion, said that he was delighted to find that after a full and exhaustive discussion, in a far larger and more representative meeting of the East India Association than any that had come together for a long time, there was absolutely nothing for him to reply to, except one or two remarks by Mr. Gerald Ritchie. He quite admitted the truth of Mr. Ritchie's statement that the meeting had been entirely one-sided; he rejoiced to admit it, and felt sure that every really representative meeting, whether of Indians or Anglo-Indians, would be equally unanimous in condemning the *doctrinaire* Cobdenism of Sir James Mackay. Nothing could be more instructive or more forcible than the remarkable speech of Mr. Bomanji, with its hard, undeniable facts, and its practical living knowledge of the cotton trade in India and Japan. Sir Edward Sassoon's personal and hereditary acquaintance with the commerce of India similarly led him to agree with Mr. Bomanji and all the practical men, and to dissent from the obsolete prejudices of the *doctrinaires*. And it was a very striking, and indeed pathetic, confirmation of the truth of these practical views when they heard the gentleman on the left of Mr. Ritchie interject the statement that he, as an indigo planter, had been actually ruined by the policy of Sir James Mackay and Mr. Ritchie. Even Mr. Ritchie, though evidently fogged by the fetish-worship of Cobden, could hardly deny the cruel fate that had befallen the indigo industry; and all the Indian gentlemen present could tell them something of the same sort in regard to all the other Indian industries. He entirely repudiated Mr. Gerald Ritchie's statement that he (Sir Roper) had imputed any disloyalty to the Indian advocates of Swadeshi. On the contrary, he strongly sympathized with their views up to a certain point. He thought it exceedingly unfair that Indian industries should be strangled in the way Mr. Bomanji had pointed out by the fanaticism of English Cobdenites, and so long as Cobdenites jeered at Indian aspirations as "old women's twaddle," he could not but fear that Indian Swadeshi would be directed against British manufactures as well as against foreign protected goods. What he had said was, that as soon as the British Government offered India a fair *quid pro quo*—British Preference for Indian goods in return for Indian Preference for British goods, and the simultaneous abolition of the excise duties on the products of Indian cotton mills—then every loyal Indian, as well as every loyal Englishman, would accept the friendly compact, and this would go far to consolidate the friendly feeling between the two peoples. And he trusted that



Lancashire would take note of the fact that the only advocate of so-called "Free Trade" at this meeting, Mr. Gerald Ritchie, had objected to the statements of himself (the lecturer) and Mr. Bonar Law that Indian protection against Lancashire was "unthinkable"; Mr. Ritchie thought the demand quite "reasonable." He (Sir Roper) entirely agreed with their President, Sir Lepel Griffin, in the opinion that the speech which they had just heard from the Chairman, Mr. Bonar Law, was one of the most powerful and most convincing that had ever been addressed to the Association; and Mr. Bonar Law had proved, beyond the possibility of doubt, that a mutual system of Imperial Preference, fair to India as well as to the United Kingdom, would immensely improve the trade and industries of India, and thereby vastly increase her material prosperity. Mr. Bonar Law had shown, too, that the political advantages inherent in such a fiscal system would put India on a higher level in the scale of nations than she had ever yet attained, and would greatly increase the respect and regard felt for her by the sister nations of the Empire. As Sir Lepel Griffin had observed, no one could listen to Mr. Bonar Law's inspiring arguments without feeling convinced that India would derive moral and material benefits from Imperial Preference, perhaps to an even greater degree than any other part of the British Empire.

On the proposal of Sir Roper Lethbridge a cordial vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Bonar Law, M.P., and to Sir Lepel Griffin for their able conduct in the Chair.

## FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

AT a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall on Monday, June 3, 1907, at 4.15 o'clock, Sir Arundel Arundel, K.C.S.I., presiding, a paper was read on "Indian Pottery,"\* by R. F. Chisholm, Esq., F.M.U., F.R.I.B.A. There were present, amongst others: Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., Sir Lesley Probyn, Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. J. S. Sturrock, C.I.E., Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. Robert G. Orr, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. Oscar Corbett, Mrs. Corbett, Mr. Carr-Gomm, Mr. Nasarvanji M. Cooper, Mr. B. B. Kanga, Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mr. N. D. Fracis, Mr. Denshaw Merwan, Mr. A. N. Butt, Mr. Richard Inwards, Mr. Thomas B. Fox, Miss Chapman Hand, Miss A. Smith, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN in introducing the lecturer said: I think it will probably be unnecessary to introduce Mr. Chisholm to most of you, but there may be some here present who are not aware that Mr. Chisholm has been many years in Madras and also in Bombay. In Madras he was consulting architect to the Government, and evidences of his great skill in that respect remain in some of the principal buildings there, such as the Senate House, the Board of Revenue, and the Victoria Hall, to say nothing of others. In the intervals of his architectural work Mr. Chisholm took over the control of the Madras School of Art, following, I think, Dr. Hunter, who, I believe, originated it. On the result of his labours in that particular direction he is to address us this evening.

The paper was then read.

MR. COLDSTREAM said it was not often they got a paper of the kind that had been read that afternoon before the East India Association, but considering the important commercial bearing of such an industry as pottery upon the welfare of India, such a paper was very welcome. The particular specimens of Indian pottery which Mr. Chisholm had brought before the meeting were, no doubt, very interesting, and were a varied collection of the ordinary pottery of India; but Mr. Chisholm would be aware that specimens of very great beauty and high artistic value were procurable with which the specimens produced would not compare very favourably. Having seen a great many Exhibitions of Arts and Manufactures in India, he could bear testimony to the admirable work which could be produced by Indian potters; both as regards artistic skill and their treatment of the materials; but they had a great deal to learn, and the sooner instruction of a technical kind was introduced into that industry, and many others, in India the better for the natives of India. He wished particularly to refer to the pottery he had seen in the Punjab. As Mr. Chisholm had pointed out,

\* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

the pottery of Mooltan was of high artistic value, and he knew drawing-rooms in London where there were to be seen Mooltan vases of great beauty on which light and deep blues and whites were mixed together with the most beautifully drawn designs and the most artistic grading of the colours. Of course, many of these things which ranked as objects of art were really not useful, and the sooner they could introduce into India the art of making really useful pottery with a good glaze and of hard substance the better. There were great possibilities. They had the artistic skill and the material both in Delhi and other parts of the Punjaub, but there had always been a difficulty in getting a good glaze. As Mr. Chisholm would be aware, the superintendents of gaols throughout India had always aimed at making good pottery. He remembered that in the Delhi Gaol and the central gaol of Lahore fairly good teapots, sugar basins, and ewers and water basins were turned out, but the art was not carefully studied for any length of time—at least, did not seem to have made great progress.

Then he would also like to mention the beautiful encaustic tiles which were to be seen on mosques and mausoleums in the Punjaub, Afghanistan, and Persia, which were really products of the potter's art. Mr. Chisholm, no doubt, would be able to tell them how far the art of producing these bright-coloured tiles of a durable kind, which had been studied to a considerable extent during the last thirty or forty years by Europeans, had been really understood. He had heard those who knew something of the subject say that the production of the very beautiful blues and browns and yellows which were found on the encaustic tiles on the mosques and mausoleums and other buildings in these countries was a lost art. If that was so, it was very important that that art should be recovered.

He had been very glad to have Mr. Chisholm's general testimony to the artistic capabilities of the natives of India. He personally had a very high respect for that, and he was sure that there were a great many directions in which that "God-given gift," as Mr. Chisholm had described it, could be developed. With the stimulus which rich purchasers and science could give he was sure that great developments in the artistic productions of India might be looked for. (Applause.)

MR. DONALD N. REID said that he was an Indian planter from Behar, and wished to speak on the subject from the point of view of the agriculturist. In the year 1878 he had sent the following remarks to the Famine Commission on the question of the waste of cowdung and other substances by the natives in connexion with pottery work in North Behar: "The natives of this province use earthenware utensils for all purposes, domestic and agricultural, from cooking their daily food in earthenware pots to feeding the cattle in large earthenware troughs; consequently the consumption of articles made of burnt clay is enormous, and 87,000 potters are engaged in North Behar in supplying the wants of the people. The only fuel used in baking these earthenware vessels is cowdung, with a little straw to cover the open kiln, so the waste of manurial substances in this business alone can be imagined. And I have never known the ashes of the potters' pits to be returned to the soil. It is, of course, impossible

to form even an approximate estimate of the number of earthenware vessels used in the year ; but anyone who has passed through a village bazaar on market day must have been struck with the piles of bright red earthenware vessels of sorts exposed for sale. These utensils are ridiculously cheap, and, I am sorry to say, very fragile, therefore the consumption is enormous. It takes ten maunds of dried cowdung to bake 100 goilas, and assuming that the average consumption of earthenware articles of sorts is 50 per annum in each house, to supply this demand would necessitate the consumption of 218,118 tons of cowdung in baking the vessels." His idea was that gas ought to take the place of cow-dung and of coal in baking earthenware utensils in India. Gas was being used largely in England, and he was certain that there was a great future before it in India, in the shape of producer gas, such as Mond gas, and in making that gas sulphate of ammonia for use with the soil could be produced as a by-product.

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to make a few remarks on the subject of this lecture, but I do it, I must admit, in profound ignorance of the subject of pottery itself. I do not know what a "jigger" is, nor do I know what a "jolly" is. (Laughter.) I hope some of those present are better informed than I am ; but it seems to me, looking at the thing from a somewhat different point of view from the lecturer, that what one would like to do would be to secure indigenous glazed pottery which would be used by the people of India generally. Now, I do not know if I am wrong—perhaps the lecturer will be able to correct me—but I am under the impression that the original Hindu pottery had no glaze at all, and under the caste system, in the South of India at any rate, the higher castes are forbidden to use the unglazed platters more than once, and therefore they have to be broken immediately after they have been used. That puts a complete stop to the development of this unglazed pottery for that purpose, and hence the poorer classes use the stitched leaves, and the better classes use brass or copper or silver platters. This objection does not apply to the Mohammedans, who have no objection on the score of caste scruples, and consequently, as the Mohammedan potter, so far as I know, never attempted to supersede the Hindu potter in his caste industry, the Mohammedans proceeded to import (when they could afford it) from China all they required, both for domestic and artistic purposes. In the South of India, even in some of the Mohammedan bazaars, very valuable pieces of old China have been picked up in this way, and in the North of India some of the old Mohammedan Kings have actually their own marks, or as we should in these days call them, crests, on the china made for them in China and imported into India, and some very valuable collections have been made. I remember seeing one of a former Consul-General for Germany which he had made in the North of India, and which, I believe, is now in one of the museums in Dresden. The point is, can we get a glazed pottery which will be used by the people generally? I think there is no doubt that as time goes on this caste prejudice will break down. In the South of India, and I know elsewhere, there are considerable signs of it. For instance, the ordinary beer-bottle or claret-bottle is to be seen all

over South India. It is so convenient that caste is forgotten ; the bottle is carried by a string, and you see people using it for all sorts of purposes. The use of stone jars is following, and the extension of the consumption of European medicine has led to the acceptance of the medicine-bottle almost everywhere. It is only a very strict and very orthodox Hindu who would now object to take medicine out of a glass bottle. Very likely he might ask to have it put in a metal vessel of his own to drink it, but he would not object to have it given him from a glass bottle.

Then the next thing is, how is the glazed ware to be produced? It seems to me we must have help from Government, but I think the Government is not always the best agency for this purpose. The Government may be extremely sympathetic, and it may advance money for this purpose, but, unfortunately, there are all sorts of rules and regulations of an official character which very often prevent the experiment being carried out in the way in which it was intended. I see that Mr. Chisholm says at the end of his lecture that the Government should never pass from experiment and education to actual manufacture, though he says this question is beyond the scope of the paper. If I might be allowed to go a little beyond it, I should like to mention the case of another industry which was introduced in Madras, and which did pass out of the stage of experiment. That was the manufacture of aluminium. One of Mr. Chisholm's very able successors in charge of the School of Art of Madras—Mr. Chatterton—whose sympathies and energies were of a very varied character, determined to introduce the manufacture of aluminium. It was extremely light, and he thought it might be used for cooking-vessels for native regiments, a thing which has been done since with an enormous saving in transport. It would have taken a long time to persuade the officials that aluminium would be a good thing to introduce, and Mr. Chatterton, having no money belonging to Government to spend, sent home and bought a ton of aluminium at his own cost. This was brought out. He got workers in brass and in copper, and started the manufacture himself, and the success was so assured that he was then able to get help from Government, and allotments were made from time to time to carry on this industry, which was developed with very considerable skill. One year the progress was so satisfactory that Mr. Chatterton used up the whole of his allotment, and he then applied for more, but the Accountants Department could make no provision. If he were to abide strictly by rule, he must dismiss all his workpeople. Fancy Marshall and Snelgrove having to dismiss their workpeople because they had had a successful year! However, Mr. Chatterton very sensibly ignored the official difficulties and carried on the work, and the success was so marked that there was no difficulty whatever in the future. The end of this experiment has been that a company was formed and began to work with some substantial success. It then complained to the Government that they were cutting out private traders by their manufacture. This was not particularly grateful, but it was a healthy sign, and the Government accepted the position, and sold the whole of their material, lock, stock, and barrel, to

this company, which I hear now is doing very well in the manufacture of aluminium articles. (Hear, hear.) The Government of India and all the local governments have now made a new start with reference to many industries—art and domestic industries—that is to say, they are giving scholarships to young Indians to come to Europe, and even to go to Japan. These scholarships are given to young men to study some art or industry for a suitable period, and they are then expected to go back and endeavour to carry their acquired knowledge into actual practice when they return to India. For a matter of this kind I think, as Mr. Chisholm says, we want capital, and the only way I can see is for the Government who give the scholarships to endeavour to carry out the industry by allotting money for experiments until the experiment is sufficiently successful to be transformed into a commercial enterprise, as has been the case with aluminium. (Hear, hear.)

MR. CARR-GOMM thought that they should not part with the subject of pottery in India without saying a word of gratitude to the common village potter for those delightful porous Madras chatties without any glaze at all. How would they ever have got cool baths when in camp without those old sweating Madras chatties? The delightful thing was that they were not so very beautiful that they wanted to keep them. In fact, after they had had them a little while they were only too glad to break them up and make garden-paths of them. The old-fashioned chatties that were made in Madras were very artistic in their shape, and he could not imagine a more graceful object than the upright Hindu woman walking away from the bathing-ghaut in her bright but wet cloth, carrying on her head the red, common chatty full of fresh water from the river.

MR. CHISHOLM, in replying, said that, with regard to the encaustic tiles now manufactured in Mooltan, they were really of Persian origin. He did not know of anything which they could not do now that had been done before. It was just possible that there was not the same demand for them now, consequently the perfection would not be so great as formerly, but he did not think that any part of the art had been lost. There was, however, one art which seemed to have been lost—a very curious one. On an old building in, he thought, Dattia, in Central India, he had found on a dome blue glass which appeared to have been burnt on the dome itself. He tried round the dome for some distance and could not find a joint anywhere. The work was very old and a good deal had been knocked away, but he had come to the conclusion that an art must have existed in the olden days by which, after covering domes or other surfaces with a kind of quartz mixture, they added on this surface glazing material, and then in some way by a muffle, which was put on to the dome with bratties over the muffle, they fired the actual gloss on the dome itself without putting the covering up in pieces. If ever such an art existed, it had certainly been lost.

On the subject of fuel, they never used coal in India. Wood was the only fuel used, and it was the most ancient fuel used for the purpose.

As to the forms of the Madras pots which Mr. Carr-Gomm had referred

to, he would join with him in saying that they exhibited the most beautiful forms that could be produced ; but chatties were not objects of merchandise. If they introduced industrial arts into India, they must produce articles of a mercantile value—articles that could displace in the market the imported article—from which the people themselves could reap some material benefit. He thought the time had come when the people at large wanted something more than the old chatty.

On the motion of MR. THORNTON a hearty vote of thanks to the author of the paper and to the Chairman was unanimously accorded, and the proceedings terminated.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## A HINDUSTĀNĪ NOVEL.

SIR,

To those of your readers who keep up their acquaintance with Hindustānī literature I would recommend the perusal of a novel lately published at Lahore called "Khwáb-e-hastī," by Mirza Muhammad Sa'id.

It presents a graphic, and no doubt a perfectly truthful, picture of the perils and perplexities which beset an educated youth of the upper class in India at the time when he is passing from youth into manhood. The hero (if he may so be called in anticipation of his future) is a lad of nineteen named Usmán, happy in his home life and popular at college, of whom great things are expected by his intimate friends. He does, in fact, obtain the first place on the list of successful candidates at the examination for the B.A. degree, and a fairly lucrative appointment is offered to him shortly afterwards by a friend of his father. At this epoch of his life his parents are anxious that he should marry, and they have, in fact, made arrangements, not without his consent, for his betrothal to a girl of his mother's own choice. But Usmán's romantic imagination, his inexperience, and the comparative freedom of his college life, combined with a series of purely accidental occurrences, defeat the project, and it becomes evident that there is a gulf between Usmán and his parents of the depth of which neither party was fully conscious. Usmán is led by easy steps downwards into a course of double-dealing which is foreign to his nature, but for that very reason more persistently adhered to and defended by him. At last he marries a girl of his own choice unknown to his parents, and is disowned by his father. But punishment, despair, and at last repentance, follow, and the final pages of the story are illumined with a strong gleam of hope.



The characters are not too numerous, and the individuality of each is well marked. Usmán's disposition, amiable and gracious in easy circumstances, but dour to excess when crossed, is clearly inherited from his father. His intellectual training, however, has led him to despise the religious formalities which his parents cherish, and even to neglect religion itself. His parents, on the other hand, with ill-advised good nature, have allowed him a latitude in practice quite inconsistent with their own narrow convictions. Usmán's companions, of whom the author introduces four by name, are, with one exception, young men of the ordinary type of undergraduate, less intellectual than Usmán, but far more versed in the ways of the world. The one exception is a young man of mixed blood, named Adrian, who plays the part of Mentor, and in the end is the means of rescuing Usmán from the Slough of Despond into which he had fallen. There are, besides, two female characters of a type not recognized as within the pale of decorous Indian society, but such as the author's purpose made it impossible for him to exclude. One is an actress, known in the theatrical world as "Miss Shamám," the repulsive venality of whose nature is made clear enough without a word that could offend the modest reader. The other, whose name is Husn Afroz, is a daring creation of the author's own genius, as exceptional—some people would say as impossible—as Du Maurier's Trilby, and quite as attractive. The story of her death in the heyday of youth, and within a few weeks after her marriage, is full of pathos.

It may occur to English readers that the characters of Adrian and of his wife Margaret, who only appears in the last chapter but one, are as exceptional in real life as that of Husn Afroz; but if they are mere creations of the author, they are at least creations of a noble type, and it will be well if the type should be imitated. The author has introduced them as illustrations of his contention that the principles of religion cannot be taught mechanically by word

of mouth alone (*mazhab ko-i ghol kar nahin pilá saktá*), but need to be exhibited in the daily routine of life, and that the surest guarantee of happiness is constant employment in works either of duty or of charity.

The story will bear reading through more than once, and it deserves to be studied by those who are employed or are interested in higher education in India. It can be obtained for 1 rupee 4 annas net (or, say, 2s. with postage) from the manager of the Makhzan Press at Lahore.

G. E. WARD.

June, 1907.

PROFESSOR HERBERT GILES AND THE NESTORIAN  
"SPOOKS."

SIR,

In consideration of his skill as a *littérateur*, and of his services in extending and recasting Dr. S. W. Williams's Chinese-English Dictionary, the jury of letters may well put down to "brain storm," or *dementia sinologica*, his strange and murderous attack in 1880 upon the unhappy Lao-tsz, and upon that philosopher's renowned classic, the "Tao-têh King," not to say his extraordinary attempt made last year to justify "What I have said, I have said," in that sinological "Fors Clavigera" of his, entitled "Adversaria Sinica." But when he takes the advertisement of an ink manufacturer of 300 years ago, dubs Lao-tsz a kneeling Nestorian, and Buddha (with his Indian gown and tonsure) Jesus Christ, it is high time to call in the services of the psychological specialists. Dr. Berthold Laufer, of Columbia University, seems to have conclusively proved that the supposed seventh-century picture of Christ and the two Nestorians given in Professor Giles's "Introduction to Chinese Pictorial Art" is a sixteenth-century woodcut of Confucius, Lao-tsz, and Buddha; he has even produced a second, and almost identical, ink-cake picture of the same trio, published a few years later by a rival ink manufacturer. In this latter case, however, Confucius wears the regulation hat on his head. The books of the rival ink men of A.D. 1600, Messrs. Fang and

Ch'êng, are described in Wylie's "Notes on Chinese Literature." Regarding the mystic words upon the picture, *han-san wei-yih*, or "three comprised in one," they are borrowed from the "Han Shu," which deals with the period 200 B.C. to A.D. 25, and they refer to the still more ancient Chinese cosmogony—i.e., to the triune beginning of all things, "heaven, earth, and man." Many centuries before the rival ink manufacturers of 300 years ago borrowed these four characters for application to the *san-kiao-tsung*, or "three apostles of religion," they had been borrowed by another Chinese author to describe the "three activities" of the public region—whatever these activities may be.

Your obedient servant,

E. H. PARKER.

June 15, 1907.

P.S.—All Professor Giles's arguments, and supposed evidence, in favour of the fictitiousness of Lao-tsz and all his works are answered, one by one, in the *China Mail* of June, 1906. He has not, I think, a leg to stand on, though perhaps Mr. H. J. Allen, Mr. T. W. Kingsmill, or others of his school, may find him a foothold still.

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#### CHINESE HISTORICAL LITERATURE.

SIR,

I should like to lay before your readers a few considerations. Permit me to hope that you will not grudge me the necessary attention.

European politics, sociology, economics, are all based on the experience of nations whose history covers but a short span of time, and who represent but a very small fraction of the human race. As a consequence, social and economic sciences prove to a great extent misleading in their deductions. At the same time, there exists an absolutely authentic history of an immense cultivated nation covering thirty centuries—I mean the Chinese nation, who, in the year A.D. 9, put already in practice the nationalization of land, and tried afterwards all the social systems, all the

philosophic doctrines, ever invented by the European genius.

A Russian by birth, I am familiar with Asia, which I have closely studied from Bagdad to Aomori in Japan, and therefore I see more clearly than you can that European science is one-sided simply because it takes its materials exclusively from the cultural experiences of European nations, ignoring the long ages of cultural life to which the Chinese can look back—this race whose progenitors we Aryans might call our uncles, as they were the brethren of those still undiscovered tribes from which the Greeks, the Italians, the Kelts, the Teutons, the Slavs, the Iranians, and the Indo-Aryans were evolved in the progress of time.

Now, the Chinese possess twenty-four dynastic histories (*Ching shè*), in 3,262 books, covering the period from remote antiquity to A.D. 1643, when the Ming Dynasty yielded the throne to the now reigning Tà ts'ing Dynasty. Besides the official histories, Chinese literature abounds in non-official historical works on different epochs. True, a short history of China was translated by the Jesuit A. Marie de Moyriac de Mailla, and published in Paris in 1777-1785 in thirteen volumes; but this translation represents only an insignificant fragment of that immense mine of information—Chinese historical literature. True, again, the indefatigable French sinologist Edouard Chavannes is at present translating Chinese history of the oldest times, by the Chinese Herodotus, Sze-mà Ts'een ("Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien"; Paris, 1895), but such desultory individual efforts are entirely inadequate to master a task of such magnitude, while time presses; for who can tell what convulsions may shortly be in store for China, seemingly predestined as that country is to bear foreign influences?

At the same time, our age is not wanting in sinologists. London boasts such names as Sir R. K. Douglas and Sir W. Hillier; Cambridge can point to Mr. H. A. Giles, for whom his excellent dictionary has won solid fame; in

Oxford Chinese is taught by Mr. T. L. Bullock, in Liverpool by Mr. E. H. Parker. Germany has several eminent names: Wilhelm Grube, Alfred Forke, Fried. W. K. Müller (Berlin), August Conrady (Leipsic), Paul Horn (Strasburg), to which Austria adds those of Franz Kühnert, Maxim Bittner (Vienna), and Rudolf Dvorak (Prague). In France we have Chavannes, A. Vissière, Henri Cordier (Paris), P. Pelliot (Hanoi); in the Netherlands the famous J. J. M. de Groot (Leyden); in Belgium, I. B. Steenackers (Liège); in Italy, Ludovico Nodding (Rome); in Russia, P. S. Popoff, A. M. Pozdnéyeff, V. L. Kotvich, and A. I. Ivanoff (St. Petersburg), D. M. Pozdnéyeff, A. V. Rudakoff, and P. P. Schmidt (Vladivostok); in New York, Friedrich Hirth, whose work on the relations between China and the Roman Orient won him fame. Lastly, we have the Japanese group: Hisashi Hoshino, Kurakichi Shiratori, Sanjiro Ichimura, Tetzuto Uho, Taijiro Mori, Masayuki Okada, Hiroshi Kusaka, and Hitzurō Kuwabara, in Tokyo. Thirty-four in all, taking only the best-known names. Each one of these scholars has pupils, of course, and there are many missionaries in China who could be counted among the best sinologists. All that is needed is to unite these forces and secure the collaboration of Chinese scholars, when Chinese history will lay open its pages before the whole of cultured Europe.

What I would propose is to organize an international fund for the purpose of preparing a set of translations from the Chinese, under the patronage of Their Majesties the King of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperors of Germany, of Russia, of China, of Japan, and of the Presidents of France and of the United States. The fund should be formed of yearly sums, contributed by the respective Governments of the above-named countries and by private members.

Mr. Chavannes, the translator of "Sze-mà Ts'ên," or some other of the great sinologists, could be chosen President of the new Society. There should be a special

committee to organize the whole enterprise. The work should be distributed among competent persons, natives both of Europe and of the Far East. Max Müller's personal energy gave to the world the monumental series "Sacred Books of the East." Similarly to that noble precedent the proposed "Chinese Translation Fund" must open to it the entire historical, and possibly also the geographical, treasure of China, in a series of masterly English translations.

It would give me great pleasure to have this suggestion of mine made the subject of public discussion. I am not a sinologist, but am tolerably well acquainted with China, Japan, and Corea, and would be willing with the greatest readiness to serve that cause in Russia.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

SERGIUS N. SYROMIATNIKOFF, LL.D.

6, ADMIRALTY QUAY,  
ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA,

*April 23, 1907.*

#### INDIAN FINANCE.

Mr. E. N. Baker, in his introductory remarks on the financial statement for 1907-1908, which was laid before the Council of the Governor-General of India on March 27, and Parliament on May 7, 1907, referring to the past year, makes the following important observation :

"The general character of the monsoon was very favourable over almost the whole of India, and nowhere more so than in the Bombay Presidency. The winter harvest has been excellent nearly everywhere, and the rabi crop, which will shortly be reaped, promises to be a distinctly good one. Cotton, which is one of the most valuable staples of the country, seems likely to give a record outturn. The latest estimates indicate that the area under this crop is more than 1,000,000 acres in excess of that of last year, while the estimated yield of 4,908,000 bales exceeds that of any previous year by over 1,000,000 bales. The area under

sugar-cane has increased by 11 per cent., and the estimated outturn by more than 29 per cent. Jute also, which is to Bengal what cotton is to Bombay and the Peninsula, has grown in area by 200,000 acres, and in outturn by 600,000 bales, as compared with the previous year. The Director-General of Commercial Intelligence estimates that the cultivators of the jute-growing districts have received the enormous sum of 40 crores of rupees in payment of their crop during the past season.

"The only blot on the general prosperity of the year occurred in a few of the eastern districts, where the monsoon rice crops suffered from a deficiency in the earlier rains, and from floods later on. The damage due to these causes, combined with the abnormally high price of rice, rendered it necessary to afford some measure of relief; but the works were not freely resorted to, and the only district where any appreciable number of persons are still on relief is Darbhanga.

"The effects of the favourable season are written large all over our revenue returns, and nowhere more conspicuously than in the all-important item of land revenue. This time last year we estimated that this head would yield 110½ lakhs, or £735,500, more than in 1905-1906, and I will admit that I adopted this high figure with some misgiving. The result has surpassed our expectations by the considerable sum of £135,300, notwithstanding the grant of suspensions and remissions whenever occasion demanded.

"For the third year in succession we are in the fortunate position of being able to announce a substantial remission of taxation. It has been decided to make a further reduction in the salt tax to R. 1 a maund throughout the whole of India. This measure will take effect from July 1, and we estimate that, after allowing for growth of consumption, it will involve a sacrifice of revenue to the extent of 190 lakhs of rupees in 1907-1908, besides a small sum of perhaps 8 lakhs during the few remaining days of the current year. The manner in which the consumption of

salt has responded to each lowering of the duty is as remarkable as it is gratifying. The first reduction of R. 2 a maund was made, broadly speaking, with effect from 1903-1904, and the second to R. 1·8 per maund from 1905-1906. Excluding Burma, which was not affected, the consumption increased by 9,68,000 maunds in 1903-1904, 15,97,000 maunds in 1904-1905, and 13,32,000 maunds in 1905-1906; and during the first eight months of 1906-1907 it exceeded that of the corresponding period of the previous year by 14,41,000 maunds. This rate has not been maintained during the subsequent months, but there is reason to believe that this is mainly due to the dealers holding back in anticipation of a further lowering of the duty, and the comparative shortage will no doubt now be quickly made up. It is a source of satisfaction to us to be able to effect this important fiscal reform notwithstanding that allowance has to be made for the impending loss of a part of our opium revenue."

In the Budget for 1907-1908 the revenue is estimated at £75,012,800, and the expenditure (after allowing for a sum of £443,300 chargeable against provincial and local balances) at £74,238,100, leaving a net surplus of £774,700 in the Imperial section of the accounts.

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#### THE PRESENT CONDITION OF EGYPT.

The annual report of Lord Cromer on the finances, administration, and condition of Egypt and the Soudan for the last year is full of interesting and very important information, and also his dispatch respecting additional water-supply.\*

In reference to the Turco-Egyptian frontier, Lord Cromer remarks "that early in 1905 this Sinai Peninsula was in a somewhat disturbed condition. Several raids and murders took place. Mr. Jennings Bramly was appointed commandant and inspector, with full control over the affairs of

\* See Parliamentary Papers, April, 1907, Egypt, Nos. I. and II.



the Peninsula. A small but well-equipped police force, mounted on camels, was organized, and other administrative improvements were introduced." Shortly afterwards it was reported that Turkish encroachments on Egyptian territory had taken place. Taba was occupied, and on an Egyptian force attempting to enter into possession of the place, the commander was informed that he would be repulsed by force. In April of last year it was apparent that Turkey wished the Egyptian frontier to be traced from Rafah to Suez. Ultimately, however, the arrangement made in April, 1892, would be upheld, and was accepted by the Porte. Afterwards a Delimitation Commission was appointed to trace the frontier, and to regulate minor matters in dispute. On October 1 an agreement was signed by both parties, which finally settled all questions in dispute. Up to the present time the Sinai Peninsula has been under a dual control. The northern part, comprising the Governorate of El 'Arish, has been under the Ministry of the Interior, whilst the central and southern portions have been under the War Office. It has now been decided to bring the whole of the Peninsula under the War Office.

Lord Cromer remarks that the agitation on behalf of what is called Egyptian Nationalism is a plant of exotic, rather than of indigenous, growth. In connexion with this subject Lord Cromer utters a note of warning against rapid and sweeping generalizations in dealing with Egyptian affairs. Egyptian society is split up into numerous sections, representing different, and often divergent, interests and opinions. In the midst of differences of race, religion, language, manners, and customs, the extreme difficulty of the subject should be recognized, and when it is recognized, some caution should be exercised, lest hasty conclusions should be drawn from incomplete, and often incorrect, data.

In connexion with the so-called National Movement Lord Cromer gives his personal opinion as to the treatment which it should receive as follows: "Whilst it would be

altogether incorrect to say that the Egyptian National Movement is wholly Pan-Islamic, it is certain that it is deeply tinged with Pan-Islamism. This is a fact of which I have for long been aware, and to which, if I may judge from the utterances of the local press, many Europeans in Egypt have—albeit somewhat tardily—now become alive. It would be easy, were it necessary or desirable to do so, to adduce abundant evidence in support of this statement. Here I will only say that the events of last summer merely disclosed one new feature in the Egyptian situation. Admitting, what is unquestionably the case, that religion is the main motive power in the East, and that the theocratic form of government possesses peculiar attraction for Easterns, it might still have been anticipated that the recollections of the past and the present highly prosperous condition of Egypt, as compared to the neighbouring provinces of Turkey, might have acted as a more effectual barrier to the growth of Pan-Islamism than apparently was the case. I use the word ‘apparently’ with intention, for, in spite of all outward appearances, I am by no means convinced that Pan-Islamic sympathies extended very deep down in Egyptian society; and I am quite confident that, had there been any real prospect of effect being given to Pan-Islamic theories, a very strong and rapid revulsion of public opinion would have taken place. However this may be, it is clear that Pan-Islamism is a factor in the Egyptian situation of which account has, to a certain extent, to be taken. It is, therefore, necessary to understand what the term implies. Pan-Islamism is generally held to mean a combination of all the Moslems throughout the world to defy and to resist the Christian Powers. Viewed in this aspect the movement certainly requires to be carefully watched by all European nations who have political interests in the East. It may possibly lead to sporadic outbursts of fanaticism in different parts of the world. I am sceptical of Pan-Islamism producing any more serious results than sporadic outbursts of fanaticism.

It is, in the first place, because I greatly doubt the possibility of Moslem co-operation and cohesion when once it becomes a question of passing from words to deeds ; and, in the second place, because I am quite confident of the power of Europe, should the necessity arise, to deal effectively with the material, though not with spiritual aspects of the movement. Pan-Islamism is, moreover, a convenient phrase for conveying a number of other ideas, more or less connected with its primary signification. For the purpose of my present argument, these are of greater practical importance than the wider definition to which I have alluded above."

"In the first place, it means in Egypt more or less complete subservience to the Sultan. A somewhat novel element is thus introduced into Egyptian political life. Until recently the Egyptian National Movement has been on distinctly anti-Turkish lines. The Arabi revolt was, in its essence, directed against Turkey and the Turks. I understood, however, that the leaders of the National Movement now declare that they have no wish to draw closer the bonds between Turkey and Egypt, and that their only desire is to maintain the suzerainty of the Sultan. This language contrasts so remarkably with utterances of a very recent date that it is impossible not to entertain some suspicion that it is an afterthought due to a correct appreciation of the fact that a more extended pro-Turkish programme is calculated to alienate sympathies which it is desirable to maintain and to foster. It would, however, be unfair to pin down the Nationalist party, as a body, to the chance utterances of a few irresponsible individuals. Accepting, therefore, this later version of the programme as correct, I have to observe that the suzerainty of the Sultan over Egypt has never, so far as I am aware, been impugned ; neither does it appear probable that it will be endangered as long as all the parties to the firman—which, it has to be borne in mind, is a bilateral arrangement—take no action outside the limits of their respective rights.

The Sinai Peninsula incident derived its main importance from the fact that there appeared at one time to be some risk that the firman, and the documents which formed part of it, would be violated, to the detriment of Egypt."

"In the second place, Pan-Islamism almost necessarily connotes a recrudescence of racial and religious animosity. Many of its adherents are, I do not doubt, inspired by genuine religious fervour. Others, again, whether from indifference verging on agnosticism, or from political and opportunist motives, or, as I trust may sometimes be the case, from having really assimilated modern ideas on the subject of religious toleration, would be willing, were such a course possible, to separate the political from the religious, and even possibly from the racial, issues. If such are their wishes and intentions, I entertain very little doubt that they will find them impossible of execution. Unless they can convince the Moslem masses of their militant Islamism, they will fail to arrest their attention or to attract their sympathy. Appeals, either overt or covert, to racial and religious passions are thus a necessity of their existence in order to ensure the furtherance of their political programme. In the third place, Pan-Islamism almost necessarily connotes an attempt to regenerate Islam on Islamic lines ; in other words, to revivify and stereotype in the twentieth century the principles laid down more than a thousand years ago for the guidance of a primitive society. Those principles involve a recognition of slavery, laws regulating the relation of the sexes which clash with modern ideas, and, which is perhaps more important than all, that crystallization of the civil, criminal, and canonical law into one immutable whole, which has so largely contributed to arrest the progress of those countries whose populations have embraced the Moslem faith."

"It is for these reasons, independent of any political considerations, that all who are interested in the work of Egyptian reform are constrained to condemn Pan-Islamism. More than this, the utmost care has to be

exercised, lest any natural and very legitimate sympathy for genuine nationalism may not be unconsciously attracted towards a movement which is in reality highly retrograde and deserving of but scant sympathy. It is at times not easy to recognize the Pan-Islamism figure under the national cloak."

With reference to the economic condition of the country, Lord Cromer is still of opinion "that the material prosperity of the country rests on a basis of exceptional solidity." Agricultural land continues still to advance in value. Also the value of urban property is, specially at Cairo and Alexandria, remarkable. Cotton yield for the past year may turn out to be larger by from one-half to three-quarters of a million of kantars. This arises from the favourable condition of the climate, the supply of water, and less ravages of the cotton worm.

The circulation of notes issued by the National Bank of Egypt is steadily increasing, as also the Post Office Savings Bank. The revenue amounted to £E.15,337,000, expenditure £E.13,162,000, giving a surplus of £E.2,175,000. By the recent census returns the population is, exclusive of nomad Bedouins, 11,206,359, being an increase of 1,500,000 during the past ten years.

The Assouan reservoir has been of "enormous benefit" to the country; the actual direct gain to the treasury has been insignificant, but the indirect gain has been considerable. The "sale value of the lands already provided with perennial irrigation has increased by no less than £E.24,510,000, and when the canals now in the course of construction are completed, this amount will rise to no less than £E.28,312,900. The increased rental value is already £E.1,465,000, and will eventually amount to £E.2,022,350. The whole of this rise in value is directly attributable to the construction of the dam. In addition to this, the cotton crop, the value of which was estimated last year at £E.28,000,000, has been secured." The reservoir now supplies about a quarter of the water which will be eventually necessary for

the needs of Egypt, and when the dam is raised, after allowing a margin for evaporation, the supply will be more than doubled. About 950,000 acres of land will be brought under cultivation. In the opinion of Sir William Garstin "the benefit to the country will be immense. The value of the cotton crop in the area reclaimed will alone amount to from £E.3,500,000 to £E.4,000,000 a year. There can, therefore, be no manner of doubt as to the advisability of increasing the water-supply."

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#### GYPSY LORE.

It is proposed to resuscitate the Gypsy Lore Society, founded in May, 1888, on July 1 (to-day) to advance the study of gypsy history, language, customs, and folk-lore, in consequence of a mass of new information since the society was established. It will be presided by Mr. David MacRitchie, its original founder. It will maintain a high standard of scholarship in essays, which deal with the language, ethnology, and folk-lore of the gypsy race, written by the chief authorities on these subjects, and it is hoped to devote special attention to elucidating the almost unknown Asiatic dialects of Romani. Contributions will be published of Welsh gypsy folk-tales, as well as a vocabulary and articles on the grammar of Welsh Romani, a little known dialect which occupies in Great Britain a position similar to that of Paspatis's Greek Romani in the rest of Europe, and furnishes the standard of purity. Further information may be obtained on application to the hon. secretary, Mr. R. A. Scott Macfie, 6, Hope Place, Liverpool.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

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EDWARD ARNOLD; LONDON.

1. *The Great Plateau*, by CAPTAIN C. G. RAWLING. Travels in unknown lands have always a great fascination of their own, and travels in Tibet are particularly interesting as they lift—if ever so slightly—the veil which has for so long made that country a land of mystery. The present book contains two well-written accounts of exploration journeys in Central Tibet. The first took place before Tibet was at all opened to travellers. The author, with his companion, A. S. G. Hargreaves, of his own regiment (the Somersetshire Light Infantry), bent on seeing something of the interior, left Leh in May, 1903, arriving back at Srinagar on November 2, having explored a vast amount of bleak, inhospitable, and mountainous country towards the sacred city of Rudok, but when near there was surrounded by hostile Tibetans, and turned back from the monastery, “a place as jealously guarded as the city of Lhasa.” The second account of exploration is that of “The Gartok Expedition, 1904-1905.” This took place under different circumstances and auspices, the Tibet mission was over, and the country was—officially at least—opened, and it fell to the lot of the author to survey the frontier in order that more might be known about its trading potentialities. Captain C. H. D. Ryder, R.E., Captain H. Wood, R.E., and Lieutenant F. Bailey, 32nd Pioneers, accordingly set out on October 10 from Gyantse towards Gartok, which had as yet been visited by no European. That this was a hazardous feat is obvious when we reflect that it was the first expedition made by Europeans with only a nominal escort in Tibet, with the assent of the people themselves, and there was no guarantee how they would treat the travellers.

To say that the account of the Gartok expedition is interesting is to give it only its due. The travellers proceeded to Shigatze, where a visit was paid to the Tashi Lama and the tombs of his predecessors at Tashi Lhumpo, and then to Lhatze Dzong, to reach which they passed one of the many remarkable iron Tibetan bridges of which we should like to know more. They sighted the Matsang (Horse's Mouth), which is known to us as the Brahamaputra, and this river they followed up in spite of weather, which necessitated the forcing the ferry-boat through the ice-floes at Lelung monastery. The people were curious and not unfriendly, and there was plenty of sport—wolves, antelope, *Ovis ammon*, etc. In due course the expedition arrived at the holy lake of Manasarowar, from within a radius of five miles of which rise the Indus, the Brahamaputra, the Sutlej, and the Ganges, of which we have a most interesting description. Gartok was reached on December 9, and they then proceeded to the Sutlej valley on the Tibetan side and the forgotten city of Tooling, the chief ecclesiastical town of Western Tibet, returning to British territory at Shipki, over 200 miles from Simla. The importance of this journey of exploration to geographical students will be seen at a glance, and it is of importance to zoologists as well, increasing, as it did, our knowledge of the fauna (including snow leopards and monkeys) of Tibet, and we recommend the unvarnished narrative to those who like books of travel. The pictures, from photographs taken on the spot, are remarkably good, and one of the monastery of Lhatze particularly beautiful.—A. F. S.

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BROWN, LANGHAM, AND CO., LTD.; NEW BOND STREET,  
LONDON.

2. *Hindustan under Free Lances*, 1770-1820, by H. G. KEENE, C.L.E., with a preface by the late RIGHT HON. SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, BART. This is a reprint (in a new form) of a book which was published at Calcutta in 1901, and



will be found worthy of careful study, although it does not add much knowledge to (and is considerably less picturesquely written than) Mr. Herbert Compton's "European Military Adventures of Hindustan." It treats of those adventurers who took service in the many native States which were formed in India on the upheaval of the Mughal Empire. Most of them (though not all) were of low birth, but of some military capacity, and in the disorganized India of the period, by now siding with and now against the Mahrattas, or the failing powers of the ruler of Delhi, generally gained vast wealth, and in one or two cases carved out small kingdoms for themselves in the prostrate country of their adoption. The best of these was Benoit de Boigne, a Savoyard of Chambéry, who was thought after his retirement to France to assist Napoleon with his advice, but following him were a string of less important personages of different nationalities, summed up shortly by the present author. "Of such [from Pondichéri] were Médoc . . . as also Martin, Sombre, St. Frais; probably Du Drenec and Perron; certainly Law. . . . At a later date appeared the Hessings—Hollanders; the Filoses—Neapolitans; and, of Britons and Anglo-Indians, the Skinners, Gardner, Shepherd, Sutherland, Davies, Dodd, Vickers, Bellasis, and the brothers Smith. Most of these were, sooner or later, in Sindhia's service; but the greatest of all, George Thomas, fought for his own hand, like Hal of the Wynd. . . ."

With materials which include accounts of lives like these it would be difficult to make a dull book, and this book, written by a trained historian, is very much the reverse, though it omits many purple patches which enrich the pages of earlier chroniclers. It is doubtful about the possible disproof of Sombre's massacre of the Europeans at Patna, and gives some new letters regarding the life of De Boigne and new facts about Perron, both derived from their respective great-grandsons. The account of the Begum Sombre and Sardhana is, on the whole, satisfactory,

though her early history is still left clouded in some mystery. We do not quite believe that the Skinner (Sekunder Sahab) of Skinner's Horse, who habitually wrote in Persian, became in later life "quite English in his habits," nor do we like the phrase "transient intimacy" in relation to the alliance between his father and his unhappy Rajputni mother. The alleged connexion between Thackeray's "Major Gahagan" and the delightful and romantic character Major William Linnæus Gardner seems to us very fanciful, and we think the latter's life might have been more sympathetically written. Concerning the résumé of Lord Moira's work in India, and the review of the British political position since his Viceroyalty, we need say little except to commend it to the reader's attention. The illustrations deserve a word of praise, as they include portraits of some of the adventurers which it has hitherto been impossible to procure.—A. F. S.

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CHAPMAN AND HALL, LTD.; LONDON.

3. *From Naboth's Vineyard,\* being Impressions formed during a Fourth Visit to South Africa, undertaken at the Request of the "Tribune" Newspaper*, by SIR WILLIAM BUTLER, G.C.B. Second edition, 1907. The author, having been invited by the Governing Director of the London *Tribune* to visit South Africa "in order to report in the spirit of a well-informed, broad-minded, reflective observer upon the various phases of the very delicate and difficult situation there existing, in order to render an all-important service, at a vital moment in history, to the highest interests of the Empire," has written with a facile and felicitous pen these interesting letters. His several visits to the country had much impressed him with the great changes that had taken place. "There were new names in the offices and over the shop-fronts in the towns, but out in the big country the old names were still on the farms. Men who had made money in trade or commerce had

largely gone back to England to spend the remainder of their days there. The children or grandchildren of the Dutch were still on the old sites. This dominating difference between the two races first convinced one that it was necessary to accept the fact of the permanency of Dutch life in South Africa, and the consequent greater necessity of cultivating friendly relations with this permanent population." This important observation ought to form one of the chief keys to British rule or control in South Africa. "Leave her alone," was the advice of Sir George Grey, Mr. Froude, and many others. Sir William Butler is of the same opinion. He says: "Let her hammer out her future as Canada and Australia have done, upon a fair field and with no favour. No matter in what fashion Downing Street may attempt to make her bed, South Africa will lie on it only as she likes in the long run." He also adds: "I think I understand something about the labour problem, and of the many grave difficulties which South Africa has to face, now and in the future; but I firmly believe that the perpetual presence of the Imperial power is the strongest incentive to aggression upon the natives on the part of the whites, and that our interference, no matter how well-intentioned it may be, will result, as it has resulted in the past, in friction, failure, and misfortune." We regret that our space does not permit us to give further quotations from these important, interesting, and very refreshing letters. They ought to be seriously studied by our statesmen, and attentively perused by the general reader.

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THE GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICES; CALCUTTA.

4. *Vol. 4 of the Linguistic Survey of India: Munda and Dravidian Languages*, compiled and edited by G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., I.C.S. (retired). This monumental linguistic work has now reached its fourth volume. The previous volumes consisted of: (1) Introductory. (2) Mōn-Khmēr and Tai families. (3) Parts I., Tibeto-Burman

languages; II., Bodo, Nāgā, and Kachin groups of the Tibeto-Burman languages; III., Kuki-Chin and Burma groups of the same languages. The languages of this volume contain those of about one-fifth of the total population of India. The forms of speech are commonly called the languages of the Dravida race. They consist of the Aryan and the Dravidian. The dialects are the Muṇḍā, Singhalese, and the Dravidian proper. The first part of this volume explains the system of transliteration, with an interesting introduction of the races whose languages we have mentioned, and the history of the Muṇḍā family. Part II.: the Dravidian Family. Each part gives minute details in regard to the structure of the respective languages. There are also carefully prepared maps showing the prevalence of the two families of languages, and various lists of standard words and phrases in the respective languages. The magnificent volume is exceedingly well printed and handsomely bound, giving great credit to the editor, his assistants, and others connected with the work.

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WILLIAM HEINEMANN; LONDON.

5. *Afghanistan*, by ANGUS HAMILTON. This important work, which was published a year ago, ought to have been much sooner noticed in our columns. Mr. Hamilton has made an exhaustive study of our buffer-State, and the wealth of knowledge he prints about it cannot fail to make this book one of the most important recent contributions to the literature of the Indian frontier. It is difficult to review a book which combines the local information of a guide-book with the political information of many well-written dispatches, but we can certainly give unqualified praise to the author for his industry, and for the account of Afghanistan which he has placed before us. He reviews the country, starting with the Örenburg-Tashkent Railway (so important from the Russian point of view), which was just finished when he wrote; the khanate of Bokhara

(where the Jews are still kept in humiliating subjection); the province of Samarkand, which, though a great emporium of trade, he found inferior to Bokhara, in spite of its great name in the past; and he went on from Tashkent to Merv. He tells us of the remarkable activity of the Russian Government in pushing its railway communications in Central Asia, as exemplified in the line from Merv to Pendjeh, on the Murghab Valley Railway; and he emphasizes the fact that in Central Asia Russia intends to restore the prestige she has lost in the Far East. The Russian diplomatic history at Herat is recounted, and the constant aggrandizement of territory narrated in a way that places before the reader the whole history of Afghanistan in wonderfully short space; and an interesting account is given of the city itself, whose position between the two Powers is likened to "a woman whose wares are put up to the highest bidder." The eastern border and Kandahar next come under review, and complete details of the trade and commerce are included. The McMahon mission of demarcation in Seistan in 1902 has a chapter to itself, and the routes are enumerated. Kabul (which calls for more interest every year) is next described, and the various khanates. A chapter on the ethnographic differences of the inhabitants will be found of interest. Neither the Ben-i-Israel, Pathans, and Ghilzai, who have all played a large part in the history of the country, nor the less-known Hazaras, Tajiks, etc., are here forgotten. The somewhat cruel system of law is treated of, and there is a full account of the administration, trade, army, and of the Court of the Amir. The last chapter is devoted to Anglo-Afghan relations, with a masterly review of the somewhat fluctuating diplomatic policy of the British. We cannot sufficiently praise the encyclopædic knowledge shown in this volume (which is exceedingly well illustrated), and we only wish the same care was bestowed by their authors on the other books that fall under the reviewer's eye.—A. F. S.

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J. P. KAPADIA, BOMBAY.

6. *The History of the Rise and Fall of the Parsi Empire from the Remotest Times up to its Subversion by the Arabs in the Middle of the Seventh Century, A.D.*, by JAMSHEDJI PALLONJI KAPADIA. Vol. I., Part I. Bombay, 1906. Pp. 826. This is the commencement of what promises to be an important work on ancient Persian history by a Parsi writer in his own vernacular tongue—the Gujarati. It may be taken as an attempt to reconstruct Persian history from a Parsi point of view, and as such the experiment is novel and full of interest to the European world. It is the writer's deliberate opinion that Persian history, as it is known at present by us, is one-sided, being almost entirely derived from Greek sources. The Greeks were the declared enemies of Persia, with whom they were long engaged in a life and death struggle. We have accounts of that struggle from one side alone; the Persians either did not care to record it, or their accounts have not withstood the ravages of time and changed circumstances. We have thus to depend on the mercy of the Greek writers for our knowledge of Persian history. This is evidently unfair to the Persians, who fare very badly at their enemies' hands. Mr. Kapadia pointed this out some years ago in an article in this *Review*,\* and in the present work he elaborately sets himself to redress this injustice to the Persians, from whom it must be remembered he is descended as a Parsi. He goes, wherever it is possible, to the accounts of the Arab and later Persian writers, and compares them with Greek writers. The Oriental authors, it is true, were not contemporary with the events of Persian history they narrate, and flourished much later. They cannot, therefore, claim the authority which must be conceded to contemporary sources like Herodotus and Xenophon and Aryan. But in the case of the latter writers there is this objection, that they are manifestly prejudiced against the Persians, and

\* See April, 1899.

naturally biassed in favour of the Greeks, being Greek themselves. The Oriental writers have also their own bias. Mr. Kapadia is perhaps too willing to follow these, and accusing the Greeks of prejudice, shows occasionally his own prejudices against them. This is natural. But we believe there is distinct advantage in having the Persian side so prominently brought forward by a zealous writer like Mr. Kapadia. Parsis have recently taken seriously to the study of their own ancient history, and as self-respecting men they find their *amour propre* somewhat wounded by the caricature they find of their ancestral story made by Western writers chiefly from Greek sources. It is natural they should point out wherein these Western writers are wrong in their opinion. Only last year a young Parsi author, a member of the Indian Civil Service, published in his "Studies in Ancient Persian History," his criticisms of the chief Western writers, and showed how far they were misled by relying too much on Greek and Byzantine sources. Mr. Pheroze Kershasp, I.C.S., who is a son of the present Parsi Prime Minister of Baroda State, intends to follow up his little book with more elaborate studies later on.

Mr. Kapadia does the same thing as Mr. Kershasp, on a much larger scale, and with much greater prolixity. He has planned this work on a very large scale. The present volume, of more than 800 closely-printed octavo pages of double column, is mainly introductory, and treats chiefly of the state of civilization of the ancient Persians. He expounds their religious literature, and treats at great length of Zoroaster, their renowned prophet. He places the age of Zoroaster in very remote antiquity, and runs counter to all the most recent and best European and American scholars like the late Dr. E. W. West and Professor Jackson, who cannot put him later than the sixth century before Christ. About the original home of the Aryas, a question much debated among scholars of late, and about which Indian scholars, notably Mr. Bal G. Tilak, have recently written much, our author also writes much, and devotes

several chapters to its discussion. His opinion is that the Aryas were originally located somewhere near the North Pole. This opinion is not new, as Professor Penka and others have advanced this theory many years ago in Europe, and Mr. Tilak has done the same in his recent book on the subject called "Arctic Home of the Aryas."

Besides chapters on *Culturgeschichte*, which form the main portion of this volume, it also contains the history of the earliest times—those during which the Peshdadian and Kaianian dynasties of Kings flourished. These dynasties are treated as mythical by most modern writers, chiefly because Herodotus and the other Greeks make no mention of them. But Mr. Kapadia has here culled all that could be gleaned about these Kings and their times from Persian, Arabic, and Pahlavi authors, and has even gone to the Rig Veda for information, because he believes that the latter sacred book of the Hindu Aryas contains much historical information about their Persian brethren. Probably European critics will not be able to agree with Mr. Kapadia in taking all this information as strictly historical. But here again they will do well to know the Oriental side of the case, which has hitherto not been presented to them in its fullness and strength. Even now this is not done as one could wish. As Mr. Kapadia's book is written in Gujarati, a language not generally known to most European scholars, who ought to be most interested in his views, we would suggest to the author to prefix to his future volumes at least a brief summary of his views and main arguments in English. Or, better still, if he can find time, to compose a separate work in English, concisely giving his main arguments and results.

But we are afraid we are demanding too much from the author, who has already passed the Psalmist's limit of three-score and ten. Indeed, at such an age most writers would feel nervous about beginning any historical work. But it is characteristic of our author that he should not only begin such an extensive work, but take steps to follow it up



actively with more volumes. For the last several years he has been engaged in publishing parts of this work in newspapers and periodicals, and the parts already published in this way will enable him to issue his future volumes in rapid succession. The second volume will be ready in a few months, and before the New Year gets very old we shall have another volume like the one before us. The volume also contains portraits of the first European scholars who wrote on the "Religion and Literature of the Ancient Persis"—Professor C. Lassen, Eugene Burnouf, Dr. Thomas Hyde, Rev. Dr. Windischmann, and Sir William Jones.

R. P. KARKARIA.

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LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; LONDON, NEW YORK, AND CALCUTTA, 1907.

7: *Japanese Rule in Formosa*, by YOSABURO TAKEKOSHI, Member of the Japanese Diet, with preface by BARON SHEMPEI GOTO, Chief in the Civil Administration. Translated by GEORGE BRAITHWAITE, Tokyo. With thirty-eight illustrations and a map. An excellent and a very readable translation of an important and interesting work, demonstrating that the Japanese are capable, equal to any other European Power, to subdue and colonize savage and native races. Baron Goto, in his preface, meets the critics of Japanese colonization by stating that "very few of them have had an opportunity of visiting the island and testing the truth of their suppositions by personal investigation on the spot; hence, in most cases their conclusions are wrong, because they rise from insufficient knowledge, and are based on false premises. Others have looked at the subject through coloured glasses, and thus have obtained a distorted view." The work is the outcome of an extensive tour through the island by the author, a keen observer of the manners, habits, and customs of the people, and the Japanese administration in its various aspects and departments. His statements, therefore, are clear and authoritative, having been derived from the archives in

the Governor-General's office, freely placed at his disposal. Besides giving a short survey of the success of the Japanese and their administration from the legislative standpoint, he enters minutely into the history of Formosa under the pirates, the Dutch, and Spaniards, and under Koxurga; the struggles between Chinese and savages, Formosa and the Powers, the rise and fall of the so-called republic and the campaign against the brigands. The author then describes, in a very interesting manner, the geographical features of the island, its plants and animals, climate and inhabitants. He enters into full details as to real estate and tenants' rights, finance, police administration, opium and salt monopolies, minerals, civil and criminal courts of justice, population and developments in the future, and the resources of the island, its trade with Japan and foreign Powers, education and religion. There is also an appendix of bibliography, containing references to no fewer than 377 documents, books, and other publications bearing on the history and condition of the island. The illustrations are well executed, consisting of portraits of the Governor-General, Viscount Kodama, the Chief Civil Administrator, Baron Goto, cities, residences, and other places, as well as specimen types of the numerous savage races, male and female. There is also a good map of Formosa and the adjacent islands, Pescadores.

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LUZAC AND CO., GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, 1907.

8. *E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series*, Vol. III., Part I. The volume contains a translation by J. W. REDHOUSE, consisting of five chapters entitled "The Pearl Strings: Narratives of the Dynasty of Yemen." Chapter I. relates the lineage of the Princes of that dynasty; Chapter II. the rise of the Manşúriyy sovereignty; Chapter III. the events of the Mudhafferiyy sovereignty and its conquest; Chapter IV. the establishment of the lesser Eshréfi sovereignty; Chapter V. tidings of the Múeyyedíyy sovereignty and its events.

9. *Vol. IV.: The Umayyads and 'Abbāsids, from G. Zaydān's "Islamic Civilization,"* translated by D. S. MARGOLIOUTH. This volume contains an introduction and three chapters—I. The Pious Caliphs, II. The Umayyad Period, III. 'Abbāsids Period, including Minde Dynasties—and a copious index.

10. *Part I. of the Lubābu 'L-Albāb of Muḥammad 'Awfi*, edited in the original Persian, with indices, Persian and English prefaces, and notes, critical and historical, in Persian, by EDWARD G. BROWNE and MĪRZĀ MUHAMMAD. Professor Browne explains in the preface that in this the fourth volume of his Persian historical texts he completes the publication of the most ancient systematic work on the Persian poets known to exist, composed in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. It will be remembered that the second volume, containing one-half, was published by Professor Browne three years ago, and he explained at the time why the second part of the work was published before the first. He also gives a short history of the text, and concludes by saying that "it seems unlikely that, for many years to come, any valuable Arabic, Persian, or Turkish text need remain unpublished for want of funds (thanks to the establishment of the Gibb Memorial Trust) if a competent editor can be found. This being so, the *raison d'être* of this series of mine no longer exists, and I intend to close it with the next volume, the fifth of the series, which will contain the second half of Mr. R. A. Nicholson's edition of the 'Tadhkiratu 'l-Awliyā' of Shaykh Faridu 'd-Din 'Aṭṭar."

11. *Tsze Tsen Piao Muh*. Second edition. A Guide to the Dictionary, by THOMAS JENNER, Member of the China Society. As my old friend Mr. Jenner has done me the honour to dedicate his book to me, I cannot refrain from the pleasure of welcoming the appearance of 'a second edition. As the spelling of the title indicates—the spelling of Dr. Morrison and Dr. Summers, dating from nearly a century ago—Mr. Jenner's conception of Chinese study

has rather an old-world air about it. Moreover, the labour spent in conquering the author's system of mastering the "radicals" by cryptic mnemonic effort would, according to the experience of many later students, be better spent in trying to remember the characters themselves, of which, after all, the radicals (a mere modern way of classifying characters) are but an unessential part. Very few native Chinese scholars can give you the name of a radical at all, unless it happen to be a character in colloquial use; they are only used mechanically for looking up words in the K'ang-hi dictionary. If, instead of being "cribbed, cabined, confined" to the narrow British Isles, Mr. Jenner's other numerous engagements had permitted of his airing his Chinese knowledge in broad China herself, he would, doubtless, with his taste for art and his great capacity for work, have become a distinguished sinologist. As it is, his quaint book contains some useful pickings in the shape of maps, charts, diagrams, and lists of various kinds, and the addition to the second issue of some etymological, historical, and geographical facts about Japan will also be useful for occasional reference. The list of Japanese Emperors is up to date, and those of Chinese dynasties and monarchs may be found particularly handy and practical, even supposing the wilful student goes his woeful way by electing to "pass" the mnemonic *corvée*; in the same way it may be found convenient to beginners in Chinese to possess a list of radicals, even though (if they take my advice) they may decide *not* to commit them to memory. The get-up of the book is decidedly handsome, and would grace the table of the most fastidious drawing-room.—E. H. PARKER.

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METHUEN AND CO. ; 36, ESSEX STREET, LONDON.

12. *Signs and Portents in the Far East*, by EVERARD COTES. This is a pleasant book, written in newspaper correspondent style, without any affectation of historical or specialist learning, describing personal experiences in

Canton, Hankow, thence by rail to Peking, Port Arthur, Mukden, Corea, and across to Japan. There are one or two expressions, both of opinion and in style, which suggest that the author is American, but his remarks in general seem to be designed for English consumption. It is curious that in his very first page, referring to the now much-discussed "Mikado," he should prophetically announce that "the days of comic opera for the presentation of these peoples are over." In fact, by far the best part of his book are the two exceedingly fair, judicious, and thoughtful chapters upon Japanese character and Japanese efficiency. The main object of the work is to present to the reader a comprehensive view of all progress made in the Far East since the Japan-China War, the "Boxer" War, and the Russia-Japan War thoroughly convulsed the inert carcass of China into action, spasmodic or otherwise. On the whole the author's judgment seems sound, though it is easy to see (from his spelling of proper names such as Chan-chitung, Shangtung, Chenwangtao, Kunlan Ferry, *fanshui*, etc.) that he possesses no first-hand knowledge of local conditions or languages. For a tyro, in this respect, he has succeeded wonderfully well in avoiding "howlers," of which, however, "the Dowager and her weak-minded stepson" (p. 8), the "Tombs of the Ming Dynasty" at Mukden (pp. 157, 159, 308), and the image of Marco Polo at Canton (p. 284 and frontispiece), are suspiciously like genuine specimens. The Emperor now reigning is the cousin of the Dowager's own son, the last Emperor; the reigning Emperor is the adopted son of the Dowager's husband, the last Emperor but one, and therefore of herself. Moreover, his mother was her own sister, so that he is both her nephew and her husband's brother's son (given over in strict adoption to her husband, in order to keep up the *sacra*). The Manchu tombs at Mukden have no more to do with the Ming dynasty than with the Guelph dynasty, and the well-known popular foreign yarn about "Marco Polo's" black statue at Canton rests on no real evidence. Marco Polo

himself never went near Canton, and he is not mentioned in the Canton annals. Mr. E. J. Hardy (whose recent book was noticed in this *Review* last year) gives a photograph of some of the figures in the 500 genii temple in Canton to face p. 45, and explains that the story about Marco Polo being one of them is erroneous, the temple having, in fact, only been built in 1847. Possibly the undoubtedly Chinese story about the "Black Man from P'o-lo" (Borneo) is the sole origin of the Marco Polo yarn. The Rev. B. C. Henty partly explained this in vol. xii. of the *China Review* (p. 153) twenty years ago, and it is highly probable that the "Marco Polo" of 1847 was moved from the Borneo Temple, which 200 years ago was included in the *Pat King* or "Eight Sights" of Canton. The surroundings point to the black image being simply what all the other 499 images are—*i.e.*, a Buddhistic worthy, and there is no more reason to suppose that it represents Marco Polo than there is to suppose that Professor Giles's Buddha (referred to on another page) represents Jesus Christ, as he absurdly and rashly represents.

Business men who take a specific interest in the Osaka factories, Chinese industries, general commercial competition, Chinese railway prospects, and so on, will find Mr. Cotes's work a very welcome aid, the more so as some of the latest treaties are conveniently published at length in the appendices. The remarks on p. 175, however, about Japanese goods finding it cheaper in the future to go all the way by rail through Corea to Peking, and thence to Canton, are rather wide of the mark; even as to time, a direct steamer would go quicker, whilst a single 5,000-ton steamer's full cargo at the paying rate of 10s. a ton, would monopolize twenty-five immense trains, blocking the line for days, at four or five times the freight. The remarks on p. 53 about the lofty pretensions of the up-to-date French Bishops—who now rank with Chinese Viceroys and Governors—are curiously supported by the *Peking Gazette*

of February last, which contains the following announcement on the festival of the 15th of the first Chinese month: "A congratulatory memorial from the French Bishop Lin Mao-têh (presumably Mgr. Jarlin of the Peking Lazarist Mission) was handed in. Rescript, 'Keep it.'" However, time will show how far the Catholics are in the right in thus insisting upon the dignity of the Church. The services rendered by the mission during the siege of Peking justify a little self-assertion there at least. In one place Mr. Cotes rises to the height of a little playful humour—*i.e.*, in the chapter on a Japanese wrestling match, which reminds one of the great American humourist's description of Gambetta's duel. But what Mr. Cotes means (p. 246) by calling the wrestling booth "a great Japanese *Pandal*" is not very clear. No such word is to be found in any English, Latin, or Greek dictionary available at the moment—if, indeed, it exist at all.—E. H. PARKER.

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SMITH, ELDER AND CO. ; LONDON.

13. *A Summer Ride through Western Tibet*, by JANE E. DUNCAN. It was an adventurous scheme of the writer of this book to find her way when leaving Srinagar in the summer of 1904 to Leh and Western Tibet, with the inducement of seeing the devil dance of masked lamas at Himis Gompa; but she carried out her intention alone, with a native escort, and gives us here a well-illustrated and readable account of her journey. With the missionaries she formed a close alliance, and with their assistance has told us much of real value concerning the old rock inscriptions of Ladakh and Baltistan, and also of that little-known subject of Tibetan music, of which (from the transcriptions of Mr. Francke) she gives many interesting examples. The "Miss Sahib" travelled in many places where no white woman had rested before, and (with one exception) was, on the whole, well received. She was impressed by the difference between the prosperity of the

Ladakhis, who practise polyandry, and the Mohammedan Baltis, who are polygamists, and boldly regards polyandry a less severe evil than the latter's early marriage. A good many chapters are devoted to her experiences in Khapallu, that hill State of magnificent scenery, where she made friends with the Rajah's family, who, though Baltis, claim descent from Alexander the Great. She gives us interesting accounts of carved woodwork seen by her there, of the industries of the little State, and of the "Big Tamasha" held there on September 4, after which she left for Skardo on her way back to Kashmir, finding some rock carvings in the Shayok Valley. In spite of the account being a readable one, we think it is a pity that Miss Duncan, before she wrote it, had not aimed at writing a book of travel which would appeal as well to *savants* as to the general reader.—A. F. S.

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SWAN SONNENSCHN AND CO., LTD.; HIGH STREET,  
BLOOMSBURY, LONDON, 1907.

14. *The Tourists' India*, by EUSTACE REYNOLDS-BALL, F.R.G.S., F.R.C.I., author of "Cairo of To-day," etc., with full-page illustrations and a new map. The author does not claim this volume as a guide book, but "as a conspectus or popular sketch of the present-day topographical, archaeological, historical, and social aspects of the great show cities and tourist centres of India." His details are accurate, and, for the most part, derived from the fountain-head of information. A late Viceroy has revised his chapter on the Frontier Problem, and a former Principal has revised his chapter upon the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. Besides a lucid description of the various cities and places embraced in the volume, he gives by way of an appendix practical information on cycling, motoring, photography, sport, health, books of reference, medicines, surgery, railway travelling, and other useful and amusing details. There is also an exceedingly good map and a copious index. The



illustrations are excellent, and the whole book is interesting and well got up.

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EDWARD STANFORD, LONG ACRE, LONDON, W.C., 1906.

15. *Vol. I. Northern and Eastern Asia*, by A. H. KEANE, LL.D., F.R.G.S., author of "Africa," etc. Maps and illustrations. Second edition, revised and corrected. This volume is the first of the new issue of Stanford's well-known compendium of "Geography and Travel." During the decade since the first edition was published many geographical researches have taken place in the region covered by the volume. Even the buried cities of the Takla-Makan Desert have been brought to light, and the inscribed tablets that lay hidden in the sandy wastes for 2,000 years may now be consulted in the British Museum. The source and trend of the Oxus, which was formerly a puzzle, may now be considered as finally settled, as well as the entanglements of the Upper Yangtse. Central and Eastern Asia having, moreover, been the theatre of two great political events, have modified international relations, so that the Tibetan tableland is no longer secluded; also the struggle of Japan and Russia have made great changes. All these and other circumstances have been included in this well-written volume. Besides maps and numerous illustrations of places, there are seven chapters and a copious index. Chapter I. gives a general survey; Chapter II., Caucasasia; Chapter III., Russian Turkestan; Chapter IV., Siberia; Chapter V., the Chinese Empire; Chapter VI., Korea; and Chapter VII., Japan. The book will be particularly valuable to advanced students of travel and history, as well as to the general reader.

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FLEMING H. REVELL AND CO., PRINCES STREET,  
EDINBURGH.

16. *The Mohammedan World of To-day*: being Papers read at the First Missionary Conference on behalf of the Mohammedan World, held at Cairo, April 4-9, 1906.

Edited by S. M. Zwemer, F.R.G.S., E. M. Wherry, D.D., and James L. Barton, D.D. A collection of valuable papers on Islamism by Christian missionaries in all parts of the world where Mohammedanism exists. Besides these papers, which embrace the condition and prospects of Islamism and its moral and political bearings, the volume contains a very able introduction and a paper upon the duty of the Christian Church in reference to Islamism. The contents relate to Islam in Egypt, West Africa, Turkey, Syria and Palestine, Arabia, Persia, Baluchistan, North and South India, the New Islam in India, also Islam in Sumatra, Java, Bokhara, Chinese Turkestan, and China. There is an interesting chart showing that under heathen rulers there are 32 millions of Mohammedans, under Moslem rulers 22 millions, under Turkish rule 16 millions, under Christian rule or protection 161 millions, the total being 231 millions in the world. In regard to languages there are 63 millions speaking Urdu, Bengali, Pushtu, Gujerat, etc., Slavonic 8 millions, Persian 9 millions, Chinese 31 millions, African 32 millions, Turkish 15 millions, Arabic 45 millions, Malayan 30 millions. In regard to sects, there are 12 million Shiahs and 221 million Sunnis, consisting of the following sects: Hanitis 140 millions, Shafis 58 millions, Malikis 16 millions, Hanbalis 7 millions. There are various illustrations and maps, which enhance the value of the volume, which ought to be interesting to Mohammedans and Christians. The papers are authoritative, comprehensive, and completely up to date. There is also a minute index.

## OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*The India Office List for 1907.* Compiled from official records by direction of the Secretary of State for India in Council (London: Harrison and Sons, 45, Pall Mall, S.W.). This valuable compilation contains the names of those in the Indian Service, military and civil, as well as a list, with a short history, of officers, commissioners, and others who have retired from the service. The present issue of this work gives for the first time, in an alphabetical order, the names of the native chiefs of India, showing their abbreviated titles. It also contains a casualty list of retirements and deaths during the past year. From authentic information the India Office Library now contains 70,000 printed books, principally relating to the East, and 15,000 Oriental manuscripts and xylographs. The rules relating to the use of books and MSS. in this library are also given.

*The Reports on the Administration of the Local Boards in the Bombay Presidency, including Sind, for 1905-1906.* (Government Central Press, Bombay, 1907.) The total income of the Boards increased from Rs. 43,84,296 in the previous year to Rs. 56,85,096 in the year under review. Consequent on the gradual abatement of the plague, there was a larger attendance of pupils in the Southern and Northern Division Board-schools. There was an increase of receipts from school fees owing to this and the new local Board-schools which have been opened. The report deals, under their separate heads, with the following subjects: Provincial rates, police, education, scientific and other minor departments, miscellaneous, civil works, debt, administration, and medical.

*Report of the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1905-1906.* (Printed at the Government Central Press, Bombay, 1907.) This report contains a

general view of the condition of the Presidency, and chapters on—(1) Tributary States; (2) Administration of Land; (3) Protection, such as Legislation, Police, Civil and Criminal Justice; (4) Production and Distribution—Agriculture, Mines, Manufactures, Public Works, etc.; (5) Finance; (6) Births and Deaths, Emigration and Immigration; (7) Education; (8) Archæology; and (9) Miscellaneous Information. “Viewing the Presidency as a whole, it must be admitted that, after taking into account the misfortunes of the Deccan and the Karnatak, the year may be more correctly described as moderate than as bad, since in those districts and those departments of activity which were not affected by the deficiency of the monsoon it was one of increased prosperity and progress.”

*English-Hindūstānī Pocket Vocabulary*, by MAJOR F.R.H. Chapman, Instructor in Hindūstānī at the Royal Military College, Camberley. Second edition, revised and enlarged. (Crosby, Lockwood and Son, 7, Stationers' Hall Court, Ludgate Hill, 1907.) This little book, suitable for the pocket, contains 2,200 words carefully selected for use by officers and English travellers in India. The arrangement of the words is very handy, and their pronunciation in Roman characters is distinctly noted. The adjectives form the first list; then follow the abverbs, conjunctions, and prepositions; then the pronouns and the verbs; then the names of animals; then commercial, judicial, military, and other useful nomenclature. The fact that a second edition has been called for shows that the compilation has been highly appreciated.

*Ancient Records of Egypt*. Historical documents from the earliest times to the Persian Conquest, collected, edited, and translated with commentary by JAMES HENRY BREASTED, PH.D., Professor of Egyptology and Oriental History in the University of Chicago. Vol. v. (The University of Chicago Press, 1907; Luzac and Co., London.) This volume embraces the following indices: (1) Divine Names; (2) Temples; (3) Kings of Egypt; (4) Persons; (5) Titles,

Offices, and Ranks; (6) Geographical; (7) Miscellaneous; (8) Egyptian; (9) Hebrew; (10) Arabic; (11) Lepsius' Denkmäler and Text.

*Bulletin of the Imperial Institute*, vol. v., No. 1, 1907 (South Kensington, London, S.W.). The present quarterly report contains much varied information on fibres of British West Africa, oil-beans from Southern Nigeria, latex and rubber of *Parameria glandulifera* from India, copal resin and kola seeds from the Gold Coast, yebb nuts from Somaliland, cocoa from Uganda, ginger from Sierra Leone—all bearing on the interests of commerce and trade with India and our Colonies and protectorates.

*The African Monthly*, a magazine devoted to politics (without leaning to any party), education, history, and folklore, exploration and travel, Colonial development, art, music, and literature, of general interest to South Africa, Grahamstown, and Cape Colony. Nos. 1, 2, 3, vol. i., contain numerous interesting and important articles. To encourage literature, prizes are offered for papers on subjects relating to biography and other subjects. This scheme is meeting with increasing success.

*Annual Reports of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution*, showing the operations, expenditures, and condition of the Institution for the year ending June 30, 1906. We are informed that henceforth the Annual Reports of the National Museum will be restricted to an account of its administrative operations. Papers based on the collections, which formerly appeared in the appendix to the report, will be published in another series.

*The Planet*: a journal of literary and topical interest (22, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.). We are pleased to see that this beautifully-got-up weekly has reached its sixteenth number. It is full of short and concise notes on subjects relating to the East and West, and brilliantly illustrated by portraits and scenery.

*Studia Sinaitica* No. XII.: forty-one facsimiles of

dated Christian Arabic manuscripts, with text and English translation by AGNES SMITH LEWIS and MARGARET DUNLOP GIBSON, with introductory observations on Arabic calligraphy by the REV. DAVID S. MARGOLIOUTH, Litt.D., Cambridge, at the University Press. This volume is a natural sequel to Mrs. Gibson's Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, which forms the third number of this series. There is a specimen of each century, between the eighth and eighteenth inclusive. The specimens are beautifully printed.

*Boys' Life: the Old Fag's Weekly.* (London: George Newnes, Ltd., Southampton Street.) The first number of this weekly paper for boys appeared on April 20. Its object is to provide articles and stories which will appeal to every side of the life of a boy of to-day, whether in the home, the school, the playing-field, the workshop, or the office. It contains very good reading, and is profusely illustrated. It is conducted by the editor of the well-known magazine, the *Captain*.

*Dictionary of Abbreviations, Contractions, and Abbreviative Signs,* by EDWARD LATHAM. (London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd.) Abbreviations of some kind or other are so universally employed that this pocket dictionary meets a long-felt want. Besides general abbreviations, it includes signs, algebraical, arithmetical, astronomical, botanical, chemical, ecclesiastical, geographical, geometrical, musical, pharmaceutical, typographical, etc.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Strand Magazine*, *The Grand Magazine*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Wide World Magazine*;—C. B. Fry's *Magazine*;—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*

(Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*The North American Review*;—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Rapid Review* (C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta Street, W.C.);—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.);—*The Board of Trade Journal* (with which is incorporated the *Imperial Institute Journal*), edited by the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, E.C.; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh; Edward Ponsonby, Dublin);—*The Wednesday Review* of politics, literature, society, science, etc. (S. M. Raja Ram Rao, editor and proprietor, Teppakulam, Trichinopoly, Madras);—*The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), February, March, and April, 1907 (the Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Hindu* (published at the National Press, 100, Mount Road, Madras);—*The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Ltd., Toronto);—*The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* (Luzac and Co., London; Bombay Education Society's Press, Bombay);—*The Literary Digest*, which now includes *American Public Opinion* (Funk and Wagnalls Co., publishers, New York and London);—*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*. Revue philologique, paraissant tous les trois mois, January—June, 1906 (Hanoi: F. H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1906);—*Documents Inédits*, pour servir à l'histoire du Christianisme en Orient (xvi.-xix. siècle), publiés par le Père Antoine Rabbath de la Compagnie de Jésus (London: Luzac and Co.; Leipzig: Otto Harrasowitz, 1907).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works: *Portuguese East Africa*, by R. C. F. Maugham (London: John Murray);—*From West to East: Notes by the Way*, by Sir Hubert Jermyingham, K.C.M.G. (London: John Murray);—*Indian Text Series*: "Storia Do Mogor, or Mogul India, 1653-1708," by Niccolao Manucci (translated, with introduction and notes, by William Irvine), vols. i. and ii., 1907 (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, W.);—*The Natives of British Central Africa*, by A. Werner (London: A. Constable and Co., Ltd.);—*Natives of Northern India*, by W. Crooke, B.A. (London: A. Constable and Co., Ltd.);—*Natives of Australia*, by N. W. Thomas, M.A. (London: A. Constable and Co., Ltd.);—*Hinduism*, by L. D. Barnett, M.A., D.LITT. (London: A. Constable and Co., Ltd.);—*The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, by Theophilus G. Pinches, LL.D. (London: A. Constable and Co., Ltd.);—*Islam*, by Ameer Ali Syed, M.A., C.I.E. (London: A. Constable and Co., Ltd.);—*Thoughts on Life and Religion*: an aftermath from the writings of the Right Hon. Professor Max Müller, by his wife (London: A. Constable and Co., Ltd.);—*The Truce in the East and its Aftermath*, by B. L. Putnam Weale (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd.);—*The Lower Niger and its Tribes*, by Major Arthur G. Leonard (London: Macmillan and Co.);—*The Lotus Land*, by P. A. Thompson (London: T. Werner Laurie);—*Hunting and Shooting in Ceylon*, by Harry Storey (London: Longmans, Green and Co.);—*Recollections of a Lucknow Veteran, 1845-1876*, by Major-General J. Ruggles (London: Longmans, Green and Co.);—*A Historical Geography of the British Colonies*: vol. vi., "Australasia," by J. D. Rogers. Part I., Historical (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press);—*The Government of India*, by Sir Courtenay Ilbert, K.C.S.I. (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press);—*A Short Account of the Land Revenue and its Administration in British India*: with a sketch of the land tenures, by B. H. Baden-Powell, C.I.E. (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press);—*The Africander*



*Land*, by Archibald R. Colquhoun (London : John Murray); — *The Ancient World*: being vol. ii. of "Reflections on Some Leading Facts and Ideas of History: their Meaning and Interest," by C. W. Whish (London : Luzac and Co.); — *Outline of the Vedanta System of Philosophy according to Shankara*, by Paul Deussen, translated by J. H. Woods and C. B. Runkle (London : Luzac and Co.); — *Lun-Hêng*, Part I., philosophical essays of Wang Ch'ung. Translated from the Chinese, and annotated by Alfred Forke (London : Luzac and Co.); — *Chinese Life and Customs*, by Paul Carus (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd.); — *Chinese Thought*, by Dr. Paul Carus (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd.); — *The Chinese Empire*: a general and missionary survey, edited by Marshall Broomhall, B.A., with preface by the Right Hon. Sir Ernest Satow, G.C.M.G. (London : Morgan and Scott); — *Under the Sun*: impressions of Indian cities, with a chapter dealing with the later life of Nana Sahib, by Percival Landon (London : Hurst and Blackett); — *Indian Pictures and Problems*, by Ian Malcolm (London : E. Grant Richards); — *Reflections on Some Leading Facts and Ideas of History: their Meaning and Interest*, by C. W. Whish (Guildford : Billing and Sons, Ltd.); — *The Future of Japan*, with a survey of present conditions, by W. Petrie Watson (London : Duckworth and Co.); — *Popular Poetry of the Baloches*, by M. Longworth Dawes, M.R.A.S., vol. i. (London : David Nutt); — *Life and Labour of the People of India*, by A. Yusuf-Ali (London : John Murray).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—The Indian Army will be divided into two portions, the Northern and Southern, each commanded by a general officer with a suitable staff. The Northern command will comprise the Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Meerut and Lucknow divisions, and the Kohat, Bannu, and Derajat brigades. The Southern command will be composed of the Quetta, Mhow, Poona, and Sikandarabad divisions, and the Burma and Aden garrisons. The Generals commanding the armies will be responsible for efficiency of all units. Generals commanding divisions will conduct administrative work, corresponding direct with army head-quarters.

Consequent on the circulation of seditious newspapers and speeches, riots and agitations have occurred among certain classes of natives in various parts of the country. Some of the leaders have been arrested and punished. Various opinions have been alleged as the causes of this unrest. Certain districts referred to have been proclaimed, and the Viceroy has recently announced a resolution adopted in Council instructing all local governments to prosecute all newspapers which wilfully break the law by the publication of matter tending to arouse the disorderly elements of society, or to incite concerted action against the Government. As a result of these efforts order is being gradually restored.

The statue of the late Sir John Woodburn, erected in Calcutta, was unveiled by the Viceroy on March 22.

The total expenditure entailed on the Government of India by the Ameer's visit was £205,900, made up as follows : Expenditure directly connected with tour, £124,500 ; military concentration at Agra, £36,700 ; viceregal visit and Chapter of the Order of the Bath and the Indian Orders at Agra, £44,700.

The Secretary of State for India has sanctioned the continuance of the military branch of the Finance Department permanently. Mr. J. S. Meston becomes its secretary.

The Budget returns for 1905-6 show a surplus of £2,091,800. The revised estimate for the current year shows a surplus of £1,326,100, or £452,000 over the original estimate; and the estimates for 1907-8 show a surplus of £774,700.

Sir Steyning William Edgerley, of the Indian Civil Service, has been appointed an Ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay, in place of Mr. Edmond McGildowny Hope Fulton, who has retired.

Sir J. L. Mackay has been reappointed a Member of the Council for India for a further period of five years.

The following have been appointed Puisne Judges of the High Court of Judicature at Madras: Mr. John Edward Power Wallis, barrister-at-law, in place of Sir James Acworth Davis, Kt., who has resigned; Mr. Leslie C. Miller, I.C.S., in place of Mr. Lewis Moore, resigned.

To be Advocate-General, Madras: Mr. C. Sankaran Nayar, in succession to Mr. Wallis.

NATIVE STATES.—The Legislative Council in Mysore has been constituted, and the first members have been appointed. The period of membership is two years. The Council consists of a president, two *ex-officio* members, and not less than ten or more than fifteen others. The Dewan is president. The action of the Council comes into force shortly. The object of the Council is to secure for proposed measures the benefit of discussion by a number of qualified men, and from different standpoints, to enable His Highness and the Government to ascertain correctly the wants and wishes of the people, and to assure that the laws are in all respects adapted to serve the ends in view.

The Government of India has decided to hand over the control of the Manipur State to Rajah Chura Chand Singh,

who will be assisted by a council of six Manipuri gentlemen and an Indian civilian.

Empire Day (May 25) was made the occasion in Patiala of a remarkable demonstration of loyalty to the British Raj. The statue of Queen Victoria was covered with flowers and wreaths, and speeches were made denouncing the agitation in the Punjab.

CEYLON.—Colonel Sir Henry Edward McCallum, Governor of Natal, has been appointed Governor of Ceylon.

The Duke and Duchess of Connaught, when visiting Ceylon in March, met with an enthusiastic reception. They unveiled a statue in memory of the Ceylon volunteers who fell in South Africa.

The pearl fisheries concluded on April 2, lasting thirty-six days. The total receipts amounted approximately to Rs. 1,026,000 (£68,400).

PERSIA.—The Shah has accepted the resignation by Zill-es-Sultan, his uncle, of the Governorship of Ispahan, which he has occupied for thirty-eight years.

Nizam-es-Sultanah has been appointed his successor.

Mushir-ed-Dauleh, the Grand Vizier, has resigned.

The Minister of the Interior has also resigned, and Amin-es-Sultan, the former Grand Vizier, has accepted the post of President of the Council and Minister of the Interior. All the Ministers have sworn fidelity to the Constitution and the Shah.

The Parliament met on May 4, and the Premier took his seat of honour and addressed the House. He assured Parliament of the Shah's intention to act according to the Constitution, and of his own and the Cabinet's to work hand in hand with Parliament.

Serious disorders have broken out again at Kermanshah in consequence of election disputes, and there has been considerable loss of life. The people are divided into two factions, one of them being favoured by the Governor. Some of the party have taken refuge at the British Consulate. The position is aggravated by the Sinjabi Kurds,

who are committing raids in the vicinity, while soldiers are looting inside the town. Cossacks are leaving Teheran for the scene of action.

**TURKEY IN ASIA : YEMEN.**—On account of the disturbed condition of Yemen, the Porte found it was necessary to dispatch from Constantinople another special mission to conciliate the tribes and discuss terms of settlement. But, as communications between Hodeida and Sana were not very secure, this commission was unable to reach the capital. A Turkish force has suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Arabs near Sana. After retreat of the Turks the town itself mutinied. Mutinies have also taken place at Uskub and Smyrna, as the result of keeping men with the colours beyond the legal period of service.

**EGYPT AND THE SUDAN.**—Lord Cromer has resigned his post as British Agent and Consul-General, a post he has held since 1883. Sir Eldon Gorst has been appointed his successor. Lord Cromer left Egypt on May 4, when a great demonstration took place in Cairo. A gathering of European and native officials assembled to bid him farewell. Count de Serionne, Superior Agent of the Suez Canal, on behalf of the European residents and the Premier, Mutapha Fehmy Pasha, in the name of the Government and the people in general, addressed Lord Cromer in speeches which bore much testimony to the great services rendered by him during his term of office. Lord Cromer, in reply, after assuring the people that his retirement was directly due to failing health, and warmly praising the public services of the late Khedive, Tewfik Pasha, and of Nubar Riaz and Fehmy Pashas, said that, with the help of these men and others he had, during the past quarter of a century, done a good piece of work in Egypt. When he first came to the country he set two principal objects before him : one was the restoration of a good understanding between Great Britain and France. This had now been done. Lord Cromer described the administrative object which he had always in view—the moral and material improvement of

the country. He expressed his thorough confidence in Sir Eldon Gorst, referred to the movement of rapid development of Parliamentary institutions in Egypt as "wholly spurious and manufactured," advised adherence to steady progress rather than hasty reforms, and urged the need of unity on the part of all, whether European or African, in resisting the forces which, whether from ignorance or intention, were in reality advocating the cause of retrogression.

Mr. M. de C. Findlay, C.M.G., Councillor at His Majesty's Agency at Cairo, has been appointed to be His Majesty's Minister Resident at Dresden and Coburg, and Mr. Ronald Graham, First Secretary in his Majesty's Diplomatic Service, has been appointed in his place.

The census returns show that the total population of Egypt, exclusive of nomad Beduin, is 11,206,359, of whom 5,618,684 are males, and 5,587,675 are females. There is an increase of nearly 1,500,000 since 1897.

The receipts of the Suez Canal Company amounted to £4,479,565, being a decrease of £212,763 on those of the previous year. The profits allow a dividend of £5. 1s. 4d. for each share. The sum of £2,263 is carried forward to the new account. During 1906 3,975 steamers passed through the canal.

[See our notes on Lord Cromer's last report on p. 181.]

CHINA.—An agreement was signed in Peking on April 15 by Chu-Hung-chi and Na-tung, Ministers of the Wai-wu-pu, representing China, and Mr. Hayashi, representing Japan, settling the two railway questions in Manchuria. It provides for the purchase by China, at the price of £166,000, of the Hsin-min-tun-Mukden Railway, China to enter into possession one month from that date, and also formulated preliminary terms for the joint construction of the Kwang-cheng-tsze-Kirin branch of the railway.

An Imperial Edict issued on April 20 reconstitutes the Governments of Manchuria. All three provinces are

placed under a Viceroy, with a Governor in each province. All the four posts are entrusted to Chinese.

The Maritime Customs Trade Report for 1906 shows that Great Britain's share of the export trade was 19·42 per cent., and the imports 47·34 per cent.

An international fair held at Shanghai in aid of the Famine Relief Fund proved a great success, the Chinese and foreigners of all nationalities co-operating for the first time.

Chin-pi, Vice-President of the Board of Revenue, and formerly Governor of Peking, has been appointed President of the Board of Communications, in succession to Tsen Chun-hsuan.

Li Chin-fang, the adopted son of Li Hung Chang, has been appointed Chinese Minister in London.

The Commander of the combined Russian corps in Manchuria left for St. Petersburg in March, and the evacuation of Manchuria is now complete.

HONG KONG.—Brigadier-General Sir Frederick Lugard, late High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria, has been appointed Governor of Hong Kong.

The Legislative Council has voted the sum of \$2,438,000 (£243,800) for the year 1907 for the construction of the Kan-lung Railway.

AFRICA : TRANSVAAL.—Mr. Crawford, Chairman of the National Bank, has been gazetted President of the Upper House.

Sir Richard Solomon has been appointed Agent-General in London for the Transvaal.

General Lord Methuen is to succeed Lieutenant-General Sir H. J. Hildyard in the Chief Command in South Africa.

NATAL COLONY. — Lieutenant - Colonel Sir Matthew Nathan, Governor of Hong Kong, has been appointed Governor of Natal.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY.—Responsible government was granted to this Colony by a Constitution similar to the Transvaal on June 10.

The Budget returns show a deficit of £180,000 for the year. The estimates for the coming year anticipate a reduction of revenue and expenditure by £800,000.

AUSTRALIA: COMMONWEALTH.—The Conference of State Premiers at Brisbane on June 3 unanimously resolved that equal trade conditions should prevail for all nationalities throughout the Pacific, and that British or foreign regulations disabling Australian traders should be annulled. The Conference expressed disapproval of the transfer of the Northern Territory to the Commonwealth.

A return issued by the Commonwealth Treasurer shows the revenue and expenditure of the various States for some years before federation and since their union. The year before federation the total revenue of the six States amounted to £30,585,153; in 1905-1906 it amounted to £35,766,263.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The 137th anniversary of Captain Cook's landing in Australia was celebrated on April 27, when Admiral Sir Harry Rawson, the Governor of New South Wales, and Mr. Carruthers, the Premier, in patriotic speeches eulogized the great discoverer.

Mr. Hague has been transferred from the Colonial Secretaryship to the Ministry of Education, *vice* Mr. O'Connor resigned. Mr. Waddell, who has resigned the leadership of the Progressive party, has accepted the Colonial Secretaryship.

VICTORIA.—The elections to the Victorian Legislative Assembly resulted in the return of fifty Ministerialists and fifteen members of the Opposition, leaving the state of parties practically unchanged.

QUEENSLAND.—The revenue returns for eleven months ending May show excess over expenditure amounting to £929,000, as compared with £712,000 for the corresponding period of the preceding year.

NEW ZEALAND.—The annual statement of accounts shows that the surplus received amounted to £704,000. The balance from the previous year amounted to £788,795.



A sum of £775,000 is transferred to the Public Works Fund, thus leaving an available surplus of £717,800.

BERMUDA.—Lieutenant - General Josceline Heneage Wodehouse, C.B., C.M.G., has been appointed to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Bermuda, in succession to Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Stewart, K.C.B., who has resigned.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The revenue for the year ended June 1907, was \$2,665,000 (£533,000), yielding an estimated surplus of \$30,000 (£6,000).

The value of the seal fishery for 1907 amounted to \$455,968 (£91,193), as compared with \$607,545 (£121,509) in 1906.

CANADA.—The total trade of Canada for twelve months ending March last was valued at \$612,581,351 (£122,516,270), being an increase of \$92,129,000 (£18,425,800). Exports were valued at \$272,206,606 (£54,441,321), and imports at \$340,374,745 (£68,074,949). Exports to Great Britain, £26,893,886; United States, £21,954,588; Imports from Great Britain, £16,645,851; United States, £41,744,320. The acreage under wheat is larger than was anticipated, though less than last year.

A Conference consisting of the Premiers of the chief of our Colonies and others, together with a representation on behalf of India, began their sittings in London on April 15. Lord Elgin presided, and read a telegram from the King welcoming the Premiers and expressing his wish that the Conference may be successful. The suggestions of the Governments of Australia, New Zealand, and Cape Colony, proposing that the Conference should be an Imperial one, and be held every four years, were adopted. Henceforth the Prime Minister of England will preside instead of the Colonial Secretary. The Premiers of all self-governing Colonies will constitute the membership, each Government having one vote. Under the Colonial Secretary's direction, a permanent secretarial staff will be

organized to obtain information for the use of the Conference and conduct correspondence on its affairs. It was unanimously approved that the Australian resolution, that British emigrants should be encouraged to go to British Colonies, rather than foreign countries, and that the Imperial Government should co-operate with any Colonies desiring immigrants in assisting suitable persons to emigrate, should be adopted.

[With reference to the "Representation" on behalf of India at the Conference, see article on subject elsewhere in this Review.]

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*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during the past quarter of the following; Major-General Henry Le Poer Trench, Bengal Army;—George Edward Hemingway, Assistant Engineer, Burma Railways;—William Henry Pearse, M.D., formerly Surgeon Superintendent Government Emigration Service, India and the Colonies;—Surgeon-General Sir John Harrie Ker Innes, K.C.B., senior honorary surgeon to the King (Crimea 1854, Sepoy Revolt, Delhi, Rohilkund campaign; from 1876 to 1880 P.M.O. in India);—John Roger Low, I.C.S.;—Colonel Norman Macleod, Bengal Staff Corps;—General Sir Alexander Badcock, K.C.B., C.S.I.;—Captain Hopton A. Scott, 67th Punjabis;—Colonel Augustus Berkeley Portman, late Royal Bombay Artillery;—Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Loch Adam, M.V.O., Military Secretary to the Viceroy of India;—James Gibbon Anderson, late Deputy Commissioner, Seetapur, Oude Commission;—Ware Plumtre Austin, I.C.S. (retired);—Surgeon-Major C. Hatchell, Indian Army Medical Service (retired);—John Cave Orr, late of Calcutta;—Colonel Alexander Temple Cox, C.B., late of 15th Madras N.I. (Burmese War);—Colonel F. W. Dunbar, late Indian Army;—Syed Mahomed Ahmed, retired subordinate Judge and trustee of the Aligarh College;—Carl Ludolph Griesbach, late Director Geological Survey of India;—Colonel Robert Deey Hassard (retired), late 2nd European Bombay Light Infantry;—William Dulhoit, D.C.L., late H.M.S. Bengal Civil Service;—Charles W. Wall Martin, LL.D., Madras Civil Service (retired);—Surgeon-Major N. E. Caird, late Indian Medical Service;—Charles John Walter, Lieutenant-Colonel Indian Staff Corps (retired);—Major-General Maunsell Mark Prendergast, late 4th Bengal Cavalry;—Major H. McNeale Patterson, 5th Cavalry, Indian Civil Service (retired), South African war;—Lieutenant-Colonel Ramsey Napier Sturt, C.B. (North-West Frontier campaigns);—Vice-Admiral R. Woodward, C.B. (China war, Eastern Soudan, 1884-85, Burma 1885-86);—Major-General Lionel Henry Planta De Hochepeid Larpent, Colonel 1st Brahmans, Indian Army;—Hugh Glennie Bignell, 36th Sikhs;—George Battye Fisher, Colonel of the Bengal Infantry, and Lieutenant-General in Indian Army;—Lieutenant General Sir Henry Francis Williams,

K.C.B. (Multan, Gujerat, Indian Mutiny);—Cyril Ashburner Hughes, Captain 14th M.J. Lancers (Indian Army);—Francis Albert Kendall, District Locomotive Superintendent Bengal Nagpur Railway;—Major-General Jonathan Keer, Bengal Staff Corps (retired);—Lewis Moore, Indian Civil Service (retired), late Judge of High Court, Madras;—Thomas Ormerford Wilkinson, late Bengal Civil Service;—Sir Joseph Fayrer, one of the Physicians to the King, and a distinguished Anglo-Indian;—Lieutenant-Colonel W. E. Griffiths, I.M.S. (retired list);—William Martin Wood, formerly editor of the *Times of India*, and contributor to this *Review*;—Colonel Thomas Deane, C.B., joined Madras Cavalry 1862 (Afghan campaign, Tيره expedition);—Colonel F. P. Forteach, late 4th Bombay Rifles (Indian Mutiny campaign 1857-58);—Colonel Hector Mackenzie, entered H.E.I.C.S. 1847, served in India six years in the Bengal Native Infantry (Chilianwala and Goojerat 1849);—Sir Dietrich Brandis, K.C.I.E., PH.D. (Bonn), F.R.S., LL.D. (Edin.), Inspector-General of Forests, British India (retired);—Alfred Ingleby Harrison, Barrister-at-Law of Lucknow;—Harrison Falkner Blair, late Judge of the High Court, Allahabad, India;—John Salisbury Hannigan, late District and Sessions Judge, Oudh, India;—General J. B. Dennis, was one of the last survivors of the first Cabul war, and of the Commandants of the Indian Mutiny;—Major-General W. R. Dickenson, R.E. (Persian Expeditionary Force, 1856-57, Reshire, Bushire, and Khooshab), one time master of the Bombay Mint;—William Duke Etherington, M.A. (Cantab.), formerly of the Baptist Missionary Society, India;—Major David Macbeth Moir, M.A., M.D., I.M.S., Professor of Anatomy, Medical College, Calcutta;—General Sir Horace Searle Anderson, K.C.B., Indian Army (Persian Expeditionary Force 1857, Mohumra, Khandeish 1858-59, Afghan war 1878-80, Burmese expedition 1886-87);—Sir Alexander John Arbuthnot, K.C.S.I., C.S.I., late Member of the Council of India.

June 12, 1907.

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THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF MYSORE:  
THE INAUGURAL MEETING.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

THE late Earl of Lytton, up to the end of his eminently useful and unselfish public life, never ceased to take a fatherly interest in the welfare and progress of Mysore. It was to his statesmanlike prescience, and to his confidence in the patriotism and the Conservative instincts of the Indian aristocracy, that Mysore owed the "Rendition"; and all India, and indeed the whole of the British Empire, is the better for the great success of that experiment of which we are still reaping the benefit. For the Rendition transformed Mysore—after fifty years of beneficent tutelage, that had planted and firmly established Western methods and Western standards—into "the model Native State" of modern India. It placed in power, under the Empire, the representative of the ancient Hindu dynasty, the late Maharaja, himself, fortunately, one of the most devoted and enlightened of modern administrators; and it brought back the ancient Hindu and Muhammadan aristocracy, strengthened and adorned by important recruits from outside. And thus constituted, the State of Mysore has for the last thirty years served as an object-lesson of what may be accomplished by the loyal and sympathetic co-operation of British and Indian effort; while in such valuable institutions as the Representative Assembly, Her Highness the

Maharani's School for high-caste girls, long supervised by Mr. Narasimha Aiyengar and several others, Mysore has been quite a pioneer. And under His Highness the present Maharaja Bahadur, worthily supported by a series of able Dewans and a powerful body of accomplished officials, mainly of Indian birth, the admirable traditions of earlier days are being maintained and improved upon. Nothing would have pleased Lord Lytton more than to have been present to hear the excellent speech, at once cautious and far-seeing, with which Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., the present Dewan of Mysore, on July 24 last, opened the proceedings of the first session of the new Legislative Council, that is the latest outcome of the enlightened rule of the Maharaja.

Mr. Madhava Rao aptly epitomized the intentions of the Maharaja, in establishing this important institution, in the following words :

“As you are aware, the objects intended to be secured by the Legislative Council are, chiefly, as follows :

“1. To enable the people to place their wants and wishes before the Government through members qualified to represent them.

“2. To give to legislative measures the benefit of personal discussion by a larger number of competent persons (official and non-official) than is possible under the ordinary Executive Council of three members, and from more varied standpoint.

“3. To obtain the assistance of gentlemen (whether officials, members of the Bar, or others), qualified, by practical experience and knowledge of the people, to give advice in the making of laws and regulations.

“4. To facilitate and ensure the consideration of the details of every measure by requiring its reference to and examination by, a Select Committee.

“5. More than all, to provide that degree of publicity

which is necessary to ensure the free and independent discussion of legislative measures from all points of view."

The infinite importance of these aims is obvious, and both His Highness the Maharaja and his Prime Minister are to be congratulated on the statesmanship that has frankly recognized this, and on the wise combination of caution and enterprise which has been shown in the measures taken to meet these requirements.

Mr. Madhava Rao offered a very elaborate and altogether satisfactory explanation both of the constitution and of the functions of the new legislative body. He was particularly interesting when showing how exactly the Legislative Council will supplement the Representative Assembly without any overlapping of duties or responsibilities. This fact alone is a sufficient justification for some points wherein the constitution of the Council differs from that of the councils in some of the provinces of British India. For instance, the Representative Assembly possesses the right of interpellation, and consequently the people of Mysore are able, by means of questions put and answered in that assembly, to obtain from the Maharaja's Government any information about public affairs that may be wanted; hence it is unnecessary for the present to bestow that right also on the Legislative Council.

It is intended by His Highness's Government, so the Dewan informs us, that hereafter the Representative Assembly, and possibly some other bodies in Mysore, shall elect some of the non-officials on the Legislative Council. There are now seven official members and five non-official members of the Council; and for the present, until a little experience has been gained of its working, both classes of members will be nominated by His Highness the Maharaja's Government. It is intended, however, gradually to introduce the elective system—at first, probably, by putting one or more of the seats on the Council at the disposal of the

Representative Assembly. Beyond this, for the present at any rate, there is hardly the requisite machinery for the proper conduct of elections; and His Highness the Maharaja himself, as well as many of his officers of State, are so closely in touch with popular sentiment, and so well acquainted with popular needs and wishes, that in the meantime it is likely that the non-official nominees of the Government are exactly those who would be returned to the Council by the suffrages of their compatriots if thoroughly trustworthy machinery for the purpose were at once available. In regard to these points, all classes and all interests in the "Model State" are agreed that the arrangements made by the Durbar for the constitution of the Legislative Council are wise in themselves, and also most suited to the present circumstances of Mysore. Representative journals like the *Daily Post* of Bangalore on the one side, and the *Wednesday Review* of Trichinopoly on the other, concur in this approval.

The Bangalore *Daily Post*, writing on July 25 last, observed :

"The objects of the Council were lucidly explained by the Dewan, and his statement of them shows that these objects are admirable."

And it went on to say :

"To us his *quasi-apologia* for the caution with which Government have proceeded in respect to the new Legislative Council appears superfluous. Caution was not only desirable, but necessary. Against the exclusion, for the present, of interpellations we have not a word to say. Through the Representative Assembly the public can arrange to put any questions to the Government that may seem expedient. In like manner we consider that the Government were wise in avoiding the adoption of the elective principle for the present. There is not the requisite machinery in

Mysore for the proper conduct of elections ; there is not the requisite degree of knowledge, combined with freedom from extraneous influences, among the people. The Government should be in a better position than the public to gauge the merits of non-officials as well as officials; and as it is clearly understood that nomination is intended to lead up to nomination based on election, we accept the arrangement decided upon as wise and as appropriate to the conditions that have to be faced."

This expression of opinion is important and valuable, as emanating from a respected authority on the spot. The *Wednesday Review*, writing from the purely Indian point of view, and from Madras territory, not far distant from the dominions of His Highness the Maharaja, though less emphatic than the local Jupiter, has words of hope for the new departure, and of praise for its authors. The *Review* says :

" If the experiment should succeed, as we certainly hope it will, the credit will in a large measure be due to the Maharaja's extreme solicitude for the welfare of his subjects and the administrative capacity of the Dewan, Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao. The delegation of one of the most important functions of government, that of legislation, to a Council composed of officials and non-officials, marks an advanced stage in constitutional development attained by the Mysore State. The prospect of the institution attaining to a fully representative character, and getting extended powers, depends on the fulfilment of the expectations entertained of the present Council."

On two points only, of the many that are involved in the creation and constitution of the Council, there seems to be some conflict of local public opinion ; but careful examination will, I think, show that the divergence is more



apparent than real, and the views and intentions of the Durbar seem broadly to cover most of the objections that have been offered.

The two points referred to are: (1) The representation of communities and interests as a matter of right on the Council; and (2) the fact that, at least for the present, a considerable proportion of the "non-official" element of the Council is composed of retired officials.

On the first point the *Daily Post* of Bangalore offers the following very interesting remarks:

"We hold strongly that the Muhammadans in the State of Mysore ought to have an unquestioned right to representation on the Legislative Council. This is but an example. If a similar right were conferred on the Native Christian community it would, we think, be a move in the right direction. As regards "interests," it seems to us that the agricultural, the planting and mining industries in the State ought to be represented, not because the Dewan happens to select a member of any of them, but as a matter of right and principle. That this would involve the surmounting of practical difficulties we are well aware; but unless the chief communities and the predominant interests in the Province are represented as of right, we fail to see how the Government can make sure of obtaining the assistance of gentlemen who, to use the Dewan's own words, 'are qualified, on the one hand, by their ability and attainments to assist the Government in the enactment of laws, and, on the other, to understand and give proper form and expression to the views and sentiments of the people.'"

But the difference between the view here set forth and that which is held by His Highness's Government, seems only to be a question of fitting time and opportunity. The Dewan said:

“ I am far from denying the desirability of having the non-official members elected by a properly defined electorate, and I have no doubt that in a not distant future His Highness will be able to see his way to extend this further privilege to the people. A reference to the explanatory order which was published with the Regulation will show that the throwing open of a certain proportion of the seats on the Council to election by recognized public bodies like the Representative Assembly is only a question of time, and has merely been postponed till sufficient experience should have been gained as to the most suitable mode of giving effect to the principle. The power to make rules in this behalf has been expressly reserved, as you will see, by Section 5 of the Regulation. But I do not know if, under the existing circumstances, the system of nomination by His Highness the Maharaja is not better adapted for securing efficient representation of the people than election either by the Representative Assembly or Local Boards.”

And again, in another part of his speech on the occasion of the Inaugural Meeting, Mr. Madhava Rao explained the views of the Durbar in the following words :

“ In the view taken by Government, the most efficient constitution of the Council is not so much one based altogether or chiefly on the representation of the different communities and interests in the State (a course which is found to be attended with practical difficulties), as one that ensures that the members selected are persons who are qualified, on the one hand, by their ability and attainments to assist the Government in the enactment of laws, and, on the other, to understand and give proper form and expression to the views and sentiments of the people. There is already provision for particular communities or

interests affected by proposed legislation being represented on Select Committees. It is also a matter of common knowledge that, in the existing conditions of society, Government service and a few of the learned professions—notably the bar—attract the bulk of the intelligence and ability of the country, and until these conditions change largely, representation of the people, to be effective, has to depend mostly on these classes.”

These words show pretty clearly that it is fully intended that, as adequate machinery for the purpose becomes available, the important agricultural planting and mining interests of the State will be directly represented in its Legislative Council. And, in the meantime, the principle receives satisfactory recognition in the provision for such representation in the Select Committees that will be set up from time to time to deal with the questions particularly affecting these communities and interests. The point is obviously an important one, and the straightforward way in which it has been dealt with, both by the local Press and by the Government, is a pleasant illustration of the remarkable care and attention that are devoted to questions affecting the welfare of the people in the State of Mysore, and of the good-feeling that is prevalent there between all classes.

Almost the same remarks will apply to the objection that has been taken that the “non-official” element in the Council ought not to consist largely of retired officials. This objection has been offered in all good faith, and with conspicuous moderation of language, on the ground that, although a retired official is really independent of the State from which he draws his pension, his sympathies and interests largely remain official. Because of this, it is urged, the mere fact of retirement—although it involves independence—does not turn an official into a non-official “a month after his retirement from a service in which he has spent the best years of his life, and in which his

character, his whole attitude in regard to public matters, and the point of view that naturally commends itself to him, have been formed and fixed." Personally, I confess, I am strongly in sympathy with the spirit of Mr. John Morley's Budget speech of this year, when he humorously deprecated the unreasonable and illogical view that in India there is a secular crow-and-owl conflict between "sun-dried bureaucrats" and "pestilent agitators." I honestly think that at this moment the worst enemies of India and the Indian peoples are the misguided people like Mr. Lajpat Rai, who appeal to ignorant prejudices against the necessary forces of law and order. And I am bound to admit that, sometimes, well-meaning zealots—like my old and much-valued friends, Sir Henry Cotton and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji—lend the weight of honoured names to what looks at times very much like an encouragement of the wilder and more unscrupulous advocates of disorder and violence, to the great detriment of those innocent persons who are the dupes of the latter class, and who must ultimately be the chief sufferers from the troubles that are caused by them. None will, in the long run, regret this more than good men like Sir Henry and Mr. Dadabhai. But the very names I have mentioned suggest that the divergence is not between officials and non-officials, but between temperaments. And, moreover, it will be very generally admitted that in Mysore—happily for that State—there is less divergence of this kind than in many other parts of India. The London *Times* aptly and accurately summarizes the views of the Mysore Durbar on this question in the following words of Mr. Madhava Rao :

"For his part he thought the Council was to be congratulated on being able to secure as its members gentlemen who, having retired from the service of the State, could bring to its deliberations experience and instructed intelligence. They lived in the country and owned land there, and had as large a stake as any

person could have in the stability and good government of the State. So far as the conditions of Mysore were concerned, he failed to see any meaning in the antithesis set up between official and non-official views of a question or the views entertained by Government and those entertained by the people. The Government was centred in the Maharaja, who had no interests apart from those of his subjects. He was now inviting the co-operation of a number of gentlemen in the discharge of one of the most important functions of Government—that of legislation."

I venture to think that it will be evident, from the extracts I have here given, that there is really very little serious conflict of opinion as to the great value of the boon that has now been conferred by the young Maharaja, in the cause of good government, on his loyal subjects—loyal equally to their own beloved ruler and to the Empire of India. I had the honour of being, during a long series of years, on terms of warm personal friendship with the illustrious Prince who was the father of the present Maharaja, whose guest I was on four different occasions in the Old Residency at Mysore City. A more loyal ruler—loyal to his subjects and to the sacred charge confided to him by Providence, loyal to his friends and admirers, and equally loyal to the Empire at large—it would be impossible to imagine. And we have now, in this recent public action of his successor, a most gratifying indication of the fact that His Highness the present Maharaja is diligently following in the footsteps of one who, by the consent of all, was one of the brightest ornaments of the modern history of India.

## THE RECENT INDIAN REFORMS.

BY DR. JOHN POLLEN, C.I.E., I.C.S. (RETIRED).

"From the very beginning of my career my sole guiding star has been how to unify Germany, and, that being achieved, how to strengthen, complete, and so constitute her unification that it may be preserved enduringly and *with the good-will of all concerned in it.*"—BISMARCK: *Speech in North German Reichstag, July 9, 1869.*

"THE good-will of all concerned" is essential to the stability of an Empire composed of its own people like the German Empire. The good-will of the natural leaders of "all concerned" is even more indispensably necessary for the continuance of our rule in India. That is exactly what that well-known Bengali publicist Mr. Mitra emphasized in his "open letter" to Mr. Morley in November, 1906, which was published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April last. The recently published parliamentary paper on Advisory Councils (Cd. 3710), and the appointment to the India Council of Mr. Syed Husain Bilgrami, for over twenty years Private Secretary to His Highness the Nizam, show that the Secretary of State for India quite recognizes the fact that the old landed aristocracy of India, as the natural leaders of the masses, should be made use of in the unification of the Indian Empire. The Parliamentary Paper (Advisory Councils, etc.) on the very first page says: "No scheme of constitutional reform would meet the real requirements of the present time which did not make adequate provision for representing the landed aristocracy of India . . . who, under existing conditions, have no sufficient inducement to enter political life, and find but little scope for the exercise of their legitimate influence." The landed aristocracy of India being admittedly so important, is it not worth the while of the authorities to inquire whether some of the leading scions of the ancient houses of India have

not grievances of their own to be remedied before they can reasonably be expected to use their influence in allaying the present unrest in India? This important question seems to have escaped the attention of the Secretary of State for India. The subject is neither within the scope of the newly appointed Decentralization Commission, nor of that of the proposed Advisory Councils. Therefore these projects cannot go to the very root of the present unrest in India. The professional agitator is unquestionably not a desirable person, but he cannot do much harm unless he has some *real* grievances to work upon. He cannot supply fuel; he can only fan flames and magnify grievances by imputing motives to the Government. As has been well urged by Mr. Mitra, India sometimes suffers not from our unkindness, but from our ignorance of Oriental peculiarities and language. A single instance may suffice to show how unwittingly the Government of India sometimes gives offence to loyal Indian chiefs.

The landed aristocracy of Southern Bengal, chiefs who enjoy the hereditary title of "Raja," and are mentioned in Aitchison's Treaties, may be taken as an example. I refer to Bengal particularly, because we hear so much of the "unrest" in that province. At present there are two classes of native chiefs in that part of Bengal: (1) Orissa *tributary* chiefs, numbering seventeen, and (2) Sambalpore *feudatory* chiefs, numbering five. Their total population is over three millions. Some of them maintain militias and have guns. The largest of the first-mentioned class is Moharbhanj, and of the latter Kalahandi. Let us compare them:

	Area in Square Miles.	Population.	Income (Rupees).
Moharbhanj	... 4,243	610,383	10,37,978
Kalahandi	... 3,745	350,000	1,85,429

It is clear that in every way Moharbhanj is more important than Kalahandi. But which of these two classes of States receives the better treatment at the hands of our

paternal Government? Certainly not the class to which Moharbhaj belongs. And why? Perhaps because of the absence of any uniform system of administration in our Indian Political Department. There is no confusing variety in the origin and development of these two classes of States of Bengal. All these twenty-two States, which are now divided into *two* classes under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, were on the same political platform under Hindu rule in 1803. They were then all under the Raja of Nagpore. In that year, under the Treaty of Deogaon, the British acquired "the province of Cuttack and of the country to the west of Wardha and south of the Narmala and Gawilgarh Hills." All this tract of country was added *en bloc* to Bengal, and for over half a century administered from Calcutta. In 1861, with a view to administrative convenience, the "Central Provinces" were made into a separate administration, to which in 1862 the States of Sambalpoore, which were hitherto under Bengal, were added. After about half a century's separation these States—as the "Sambalpoore Feudatory States"—came back to Bengal as a result of the recent "Partition of Bengal" in October, 1905.

One may now notice a marked contrast in the development and the present political status of these two classes of States, which were originally one and the same under Hindu rule. A want of uniformity or lack of touch between the official policy of the governments of the Central Provinces and that of Bengal could alone produce such a result. On their return to Bengal, these States, together with two Chota-Nagpore States—in all twenty-four States—were placed under a Political Agent, a junior member of the Indian Civil Service. The Orissa chiefs were surprised to find that their Sambalpoore brethren had higher powers and enjoyed greater privileges than they themselves possessed. There were also other marked differences. At the present moment it cannot be said that the Sambalpoore Chiefs, are, as a body, abler men than the Orissa



chiefs. On the other hand, while the name of the enlightened chief of Moharbhaj is associated in the city of London with a railway enterprise and a mining syndicate with a capital of about £1,000,000, none of the Sambalpoore chiefs have as yet distinguished themselves in this way. And yet the class to which Moharbhaj belongs suffers degradation in the eyes of the peasantry of Southern Bengal because of its marked inferior political status, resulting from want of continuity of our system, and from no fault of its own. The ancestors of the Orissa chiefs only half a century ago, under British rule, were on the same political platform as the ancestors of the Sambalpoore chiefs. To Indian ears the very word *feudatory* has a more reassuring ring about it than the subservient *tributary*. If both words were intended to mean exactly the same, why should a differentiation be adopted which causes heart-burning to no less than seventeen loyal chiefs, who rule over a million people? The terms of recent Sanads of the "feudatory" chiefs of Sambalpoore differ from those of the "tributary" chiefs of Orissa, and hence arises all this avoidable heart-burning. This is a political "pin-prick" with a vengeance, somewhat akin to the snobbish "order" which forbids native chiefs describing their "rule" as a "reign," or alluding to their "gadi" as a "throne"!

As there are more than 600 Native States in India, ruling over three-sevenths of the area of India, with a population of over 62 millions (more than the population of Germany), it may perhaps, without intruding upon the unknowable mysteries of statecraft, be permissible to one who has the welfare of our Empire at heart, and who has had some practical experience of Indian chiefs, to humbly suggest the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the actual working of various treaties throughout India, in the light of the case given as an instance. I have no doubt that such an inquiry, if conducted on right lines, would show the Home authorities that several Hindu chiefs

described as "Rajas" in Aitchison's Treaties have lost that much-prized distinction, not because of any fault of their own or of their ancestors, but simply through the administrative indifference or whimsical caprices of certain evanescent Secretaries. The Government of India have of late been keen on creating a new Indian aristocracy by conferring the title—sometimes hereditarily—of "Raja" upon certain favourites. But the "new and artificial" seldom, if ever, appeals to the Hindu masses. To them it is tradition that is sacred. The idea of replacing the real and natural Hindu aristocracy by what appears to the mind of the Hindu of to-day a spurious and artificial compromise does not commend itself to the sentiment of the Orient. The Hindu peasant instinctively follows the man who has *inherited*—not the man who has personally acquired—political connexion with his ancestral estates. Agitators may harangue, but the inert mass of the Hindu peasantry can only be moved by the *hereditary* Rajas, and hence our duty is to see to the preservation of the latter for the sake of the peace of India.

The Administration Report of Bengal for 1905-6 is before me. Hardly a single paragraph is devoted to the present unrest in Bengal. The *Feudatory* and *Tributary* States to which I have referred scarcely occupy one page and a half. There is not a single word about the difference in their status and the consequent heart-burning. The solidarity of class feeling in India is well known. The authorities cannot, in these days of unrest, afford to lose sight of the jealous watchfulness which the chiefs extend to the action of the British Government in its dealings with any of their order. Unless and until the grievances of the Indian chiefs themselves have been inquired into and removed, it seems futile to hope that any mere sporadic reforms likely to suggest themselves to the Decentralization Commission, or even the appointment of two Indian gentlemen to the Council of India, can produce the pacifying

effects desired. The time has come when the differences in the present status of some Indian chiefs, arising without reference to their own merits or demerits, should be brought under survey with a view to getting rid of complexities and anomalies which certainly militate against a real unification of our Indian Empire. Such an inquiry would not only demonstrate our political good faith, but (what is perhaps more important), would lead the subtle Oriental mind to appreciate the political sagacity of the present Government. What is wanted is an abiding change in our attitude—or rather in the spirit of our attitude—towards the sentiments of the ancient landed aristocracy of India.

## THE MISFORTUNES OF THE MADRAS ARMY.

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL F. H. TYRRELL.

"Sunno, Yáro, yih Sitam-i nau, is Charakh-i Kohan ka !"

Hear me, my friends, while I recount to ye  
Of the old Heavens this new Tyranny !

FIFTY years ago the Madras Army of the Honourable East India Company comprised the following establishments of native troops : Eight regiments of cavalry (twenty-five squadrons),\* two troops of horse artillery, a battalion of foot artillery, a brigade of sappers, fifty-two battalions of infantry, and two battalions of veterans. The European troops who formed "the steel head of the lance" were a brigade of horse artillery, four battalions of foot artillery, a corps of engineers, and three battalions of infantry ; but on the reorganization of the Indian military forces after the Mutiny of 1857 all these were transferred *en bloc* to the British Army List. The Madras Army was under its own Commander-in-Chief, usually an officer of the British service, with a headquarter staff furnished from the officers of the army, and was a complete organization on the ordinary lines of army distribution in those days, with territorial divisions and brigades, with all the necessary departments and auxiliary services, such as pay, commissariat, ordnance, clothing, remounts, judge advocates, etc., horse-breeding stud, factories, and magazines. The strength of the Madras native army amounted in round numbers to an aggregate of 45,000 sabres and bayonets, with thirty guns ; and all its native soldiers, with very few exceptions, were recruited within the limits of the Madras Presidency. The cavalry were mostly Musalmans, the descendants of the old Muhammadan conquerors and garrisons of the Carnatic ;

\* Including the squadron employed as the Governor's bodyguard.

about one-fourth were Rajputs and Mahrattas, and these, for the most part, were men whose ancestors had settled in the South of India. In the artillery and infantry about one-fourth of the men were Musulmans, the rest Hindus—Telingas from the eastern, and Tamils from the southern provinces; and some native Christians and pariahs of the latter nationality. There were also a few Mahrattas and Kanarese, and a few outsiders from Hindustan, Brahmins, and Rajputs, generally men whose inferior physique or short stature had caused their exclusion from the Bengal Army. The sappers were practically all Christians and pariahs, though there was no bar to men of other classes enlisting in their ranks, and there were a few Musalmans to be found among them. As had been the practice from the first, all creeds and classes were mingled in the ranks of the troops and companies, and lived promiscuously side by side in the hutting lines; the high-caste Hindu stood shoulder to shoulder with the pariah on parade, and the Musalman and the Christian were next-door neighbours in the lines.

The organization was a close copy of that of a British regiment: each native regiment had a Colonel, a Lieutenant-Colonel, and a Major; and in the cavalry, six Captains, nine Lieutenants, and four Cornets; in the infantry, seven Captains, eleven Lieutenants, and five Ensigns. In addition to these English officers, each cavalry regiment had twelve, and each infantry regiment twenty, native commissioned officers. Thus, each battalion had an establishment of forty-six officers, twenty-six European and twenty native, which seems an excessive number; but, in fact, from three-fourths to two-thirds of the former were absent from their regiments in staff, departmental, or civil employ, with the liability to be recalled to them if they were warned for service in the field; altogether, there were in round numbers 1,500 British officers to the 45,000 native soldiers.

This army is to-day represented in the Indian Army List by four squadrons of cavalry, eight companies of

sappers, and eleven battalions of infantry, aggregating 8,000 sabres and bayonets. Of the eight cavalry regiments, five have been disbanded, and the remaining three filled up with men from the Punjab and other parts of Northern India ; twenty-three battalions of infantry have been disbanded, and eighteen others converted into Punjabi, Gurkha, or Moplah regiments ; and as further conversions seem to be contemplated, we may look forward to shortly witnessing the complete extinction of these remaining remnants of the old Madras Army. The purpose of this article is to set forth briefly and clearly the reasons for these reductions and the methods of effecting them.

The Madras or Coast Army was the earliest of the Honourable Company's military establishments in India. Its sepoys fought under Clive around Trichinopoly and at Plassey, and companies of them formed the nucleus of the Bengal native army. It mustered a considerable number of battalions while the armies of the Bengal and Bombay Presidencies were still in their infancy. Its troops were always in the field, continuously employed against the French, against the Mahrattas, against the Mysorean armies of Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan, against rebel Polygars and refractory Zemindars, against roving bands of Rohillas and Pindaris. Though often recruited from an unwarlike race, "the miserable Kafirs of Telingana," despised by their Musalman masters as unfit to carry arms, as the Egyptian fellahin were by the Mamelukes, the Madras sepoy was cradled and nursed in war, and often gave signal proof of both courage and loyalty. The story of the self-sacrificing devotion of Clive's sepoys at the siege of Arcot recounted by Lord Macaulay may not admit of historical verification, but its general acceptance shows that it was not at all incredible. Led by British officers, the sepoys of Southern India defeated Afghan and Arab mercenaries in the service of hostile Rajahs and Nawábs ; Ibrahim Khán Gardi's brigade of Deccani sepoys broke the Rohillas at the Battle of Panipat ; and two battalions of

Madras sepoy routed a superior force of Arabs at Sitabaldi in 1817 after a long and desperate fight.

But in 1819 the great Mahratta War came to a close, and with it closed the career of war and conquest of the Madras Army. From that time forth the Madras Presidency has enjoyed the happiness of the countries that have no history, and, compassed by the inviolate sea, it had no frontiers to guard against any possible foe. The Bengal and Bombay armies had still to face Afghans, Sikhs, and Baluchis, but the only war service that the Madras soldier saw for fifty years was in oversea operations against such contemptible enemies as the Burmese and Chinese. Some Madras regiments took part in the first and second Burmese Wars, and in the opium war with China, and a Madras infantry regiment was made a grenadier corps by Lord Ellenborough for conspicuous gallantry in the latter campaign.\* But with these exceptions the Madras Army rusted in a long and unbroken peace. Its troops were employed to garrison our acquisitions from Burmah in Tenasserim and Pegu, and they were also stationed at Penang and Singapore, and sometimes at Aden and Hong Kong, doing most of the oversea duty, as the high-caste sepoy of the other Presidency armies objected to crossing the salt water. But they enjoyed no opportunity of seeing active service. Even the most warlike Oriental races soon lose their martial instincts and qualities when these are not kept alive by use and practice. The Tartars of Kazan and of the Crimea, who two centuries ago were as wild as wolves, have to-day become as tame as sheep; the Mahratta has turned his buckler into a weighing-scale; and the men who helped to win our Indian Empire are to-day found unworthy to defend it. The Tamil and Telinga soldiery, who had learned the arts of war under the victorious British ensigns, soon forgot their lesson in the inglorious ease which followed on the establishment of the Pax Britannica.

\* The 37th Grenadier Regiment of Madras Infantry, disbanded in 1882.

At the same time, little pains were taken by the Madras Government to keep up the efficiency of the army. Promotion naturally stagnated in time of peace in a purely seniority service ; both British and native officers were too old for their work, and they were encouraged to remain on the active list from a desire to keep down the pension establishment. Regimental commanders were often decrepit old men, while there were native officers so old that they were excused from marching past with their companies. Men who had entered the service as recruit-boys under Sir Arthur Wellesley were still serving as native officers fifty years afterwards. Each Madras regiment had fifty recruit and pension boys, sons of the sepoys, who were often enrolled as infants and passed into the ranks on attaining the prescribed age, while the sepoy often ended his life in the ranks of one of the veteran battalions.

The institution of regimental boys was well devised to provide a nursery of soldiers, but ill carried out ; the boys resided with their mothers or other relatives, and their slender pay went into the family purse. Hence they were ill-nourished and grew up weak and puny, often unable to pass the moderate physical tests required. The family system of the Madras Army under which the families of the soldiers always accompanied the regiment did not make for military efficiency. It was an effective safeguard against mutiny, and, properly regulated, it might have done no harm. A similar system prevails to-day in the Soudanese battalions of the Egyptian Army, which are thoroughly efficient ; but in the Madras Army its privileges were greatly abused. All the female, and even some male relatives of the sepoy lived in his hut and on his pay. No attempt was made to check the abuses arising from this state of things.

The hutting lines and regimental bazaar sheltered some 3,000 souls of all ages and both sexes, and the sepoys and this horde of followers formed a class apart from, and having no sympathy with, the civilian population. A Musalman sepoy in the cantonment had more in common with his



Hindu or Christian comrade than he had with his own co-religionists in the town. There was some political advantage in this complete segregation of the military from the general population.

The only native troops of the Madras Army who remained thoroughly efficient for war were the sappers. The Brigade was officered by picked men from the infantry, as well as from the engineers. Owing to the sappers of the other Presidency armies being few in quantity and indifferent in quality, the services of the Madras sappers were requisitioned for every campaign and every expedition undertaken within or without our borders. They shared in the Bombay expedition to Egypt, in the Bengal expedition to Java; they fought at Meanee; they went to Persia in 1856, and took part in the siege of Lucknow in 1858; they marched to Magdala and to Kabul; they constructed zarebas in the bush round Suakin, and built sangars from the stones of the Tirah hills. They thus escaped the deterioration which overtook the cavalry and infantry, whose squadrons and battalions had no chance of seeing active service, and who at last ceased even to expect it.

The deterioration of the Bengal Army was more rapid and more complete than that of the Madras Army, though the former was not, like the latter, debarred from the experience of war. In the campaigns in the Punjab in 1846 and 1849 the Bengal sepoys behaved very differently to the men who had fought under Lake and Ouchterlony, and who at Bhurtpore had attempted the breach from which British soldiers had been repulsed. The deterioration of the Bengal Army culminated in the great Mutiny of 1857. It was partly due to political causes, partly to military maladministration and to relaxation of discipline. In the two minor Presidency armies of Madras and Bombay a strict discipline had always been maintained.

The Bombay Army preserved a relatively high standard of efficiency. Its British officers and their native soldiers showed a fine military spirit, a pride in their profession,

and a keen interest in their duties. Perhaps this was owing to a better system of army administration; the Bombay Government seemed to take an interest and a pride in its army, while in Madras the governors and councillors looked on their army as a superfluous institution which absorbed funds that might have been more usefully spent on education and irrigation.

Both Madras and Bombay troops aided in suppressing the mutiny of the Bengal Army. A battalion of Rifles was formed of the Rifle companies which some Madras regiments had in place of light companies. These riflemen were dressed in green, and were armed with two-grooved Brunswick rifles. They served against the rebel Koer Singh in the jungles round Jugdespore. A column of Madras troops under General Whitlock defeated the mutineers at Banda and captured the Kirwee booty.

One regrettable incident occurred during these operations. The 8th Madras Light Cavalry was ordered to proceed on service against the mutineers. Its native officers conspired and demanded an increased rate of batta (field allowance) as a condition of their service. The regiment was very properly disbanded, to the great grief of all ranks. As usual on a regiment proceeding on active service, all its British officers on staff, departmental, or civil employ had rejoined it. Some of these were old married men who found their incomes reduced by one-half or more by their return to regimental duty, and who during their long absence had become unfitted for the duties of a cavalry officer. The discontent and the repinings of these old gentlemen influenced the native officers, always ready to take their cue from their European superiors, and led to this unfortunate course of action, which they afterwards bitterly repented.

Under the impression that the struggle with the mutineers might be long and doubtful, it was resolved to augment the strength of the Madras Army, and the number of privates in each battalion was raised from 700 to 1,000. Thus

15,000 recruits were required at once, and the supply proving inadequate to the demand, it became necessary to lower the standards and to accept some recruits of an inferior stamp. After the suppression of the Mutiny the strength of all native battalions was fixed at 600 privates, and the Madras infantry regiments were reduced from 10 companies and 1,000 privates to 8 companies with 600 privates. Consequently 400 privates had to be got rid of by pension and discharge; many of the good old soldiers left, while the recruits of an inferior stamp remained. Moreover, the reduction of two companies made their four native officers and twenty non-commissioned officers supernumerary in the regiment, to be absorbed on vacancies; and this checked the flow of promotion, which was already too slow.

The Madras Army was thanked by Her Majesty Queen Victoria for its loyalty and good services during the Mutiny; but that loyalty and good service met with a sorry recompense. The finances of India were disorganized by the Mutiny, and the Government was anxious for the reduction of expenditure. The population of the Madras Presidency was loyal and peaceful, and it had no frontiers but the sea and our own possessions: an army of 45,000 men was no longer needed for its garrison or its defence. Its reduction was accordingly decided on, and this was the first step towards the woeful ruin of the Madras Army, now almost consummated. In the course of a few years four regiments of cavalry and twelve regiments of infantry were disbanded, their British and native officers and non-commissioned officers being distributed among the remaining four regiments of cavalry, and forty of infantry as supernumeraries, and such of their men as had not completed their service for full or half rates of pension, and were unwilling to take their discharge, being drafted into them. This measure put a complete stop to promotion in the native ranks and to recruiting for many years. The officers and sepoys so transferred never amalgamated with those of their new regiment, but formed a little community

of outsiders in it. On account of the redundancy of British officers, no young officers were posted to the Madras Army for a period of eight or nine years; and this did not tend to promote efficiency.

Soon afterwards the new organization, which had been hastily adopted in the welter of the Mutiny for the levies raised in the Punjab to suppress it, was adopted by the Government as the stereotyped form of regimental organization for the Native Army, and was imposed on the armies of Madras and Bombay. In the Company's service there had been two methods of regimental organization, the Regular and the Irregular. The first named had one serious blot in the system of bringing back officers who had spent their lives in extra-regimental employ to the command of regiments; the second had no drawback, except the small number of British officers (generally three) present with the corps, and worked both efficiently and economically.

The new method was a compromise between the two, allotting seven British officers to the regiment, which in Bengal was worked on the old Irregular lines. But the system was not suited to the regular regiments of the old armies, and the mixing of the old and new systems caused friction and confusion, and it was very unpopular with both British and Native ranks. It also threw many European officers out of employ; and as the British officers of the three Indian armies were all now transferred to so-called "Staff Corps," in which promotion was regulated not by vacancies occurring, but by length of service, the numbers of senior officers became excessive. The evil was felt in all three armies, but most in that of Madras, where it was greatly aggravated by the large reductions of cadres. Three Lieutenant-Colonels and Brevet-Colonels were often found together in one Madras battalion, in which Majors were performing the duties of subalterns. The Indian Government found itself obliged to grant bonuses to induce senior officers to retire, and so relieve the congestion of regimental promotion. Henceforth the British officer no

longer belonged to his regiment in the same sense as the native soldier belonged to it, and the connexion between them became only accidental and temporary. In the time of the East India Company the native regiment had been the British officer's home during the whole period of his service; he received all his promotion in its cadre, and if he quitted it for staff or civil employment, he was bound to rejoin it if it proceeded on active service, or on the cessation of his extra-regimental employment. But now this was no longer the case, and the new departure had the effect of weakening the ties between the sepoy and his British officer, and of decreasing the influence of the latter over his men. To the Madras sepoy, who had been accustomed to look up to his British company officer as his patron and protector during his whole service, the new departure was both unacceptable and incomprehensible.

It was unfortunate, also, that the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army at the time of the introduction of the new system was Sir Gaspard Le Marchant, an officer of the Royal Army who had never before seen service in India, and was totally unacquainted with the methods and needs of the Native Army. He disapproved of the new system, and took no pains to make it work efficiently. The Bombay Army was more fortunate in having Sir Robert Napier, himself an Indian officer and an able administrator, to preside over the introduction of the new system; and as that army had not been subjected to any reduction, there was not the same congestion of promotion among its officers.

After this reorganization twenty more years of unbroken peace passed over the Madras Army, till its services were requisitioned for the Afghan War of 1880. The military occupation of Kabul and Kandahar had taxed the resources of the Indian Army to the utmost, but the Madras troops were employed only on the lines of communication, and had no chance given to them of testing their prowess in the field. They endured the rigours of the northern winter with unexpected fortitude, and appeared to suffer less from

the cold than did the Sikhs and other dwellers in the plains of the Punjab and Hindustan, among whom there were many more casualties from chest and lung diseases than there were among the Madrasis.

In the meantime efforts had been made on several occasions by the Government of India to effect further reductions in the Madras Army, in order to obtain funds for military expenditure in the north. Lord Mayo proposed the disbandment of more Madras regiments, but the Secretary of State for India insisted that such disbandments of troops should proportionately affect all the three Presidency armies. The proposition was therefore dropped for a time, but was again and again brought forward with the same result. Finally, after the Afghan War was ended, the Government of India agreed to reduce some Bengal and Bombay regiments as well as Madras ones, and accordingly eight more regiments of Madras infantry disappeared from the Army List.\*

The knowing ones predicted at the time that the Bengal regiments so reduced would soon be raised again, and this actually happened: one by one the vacant numbers were refilled in the Bengal Army by new regiments, so that the officers of that army endured only a temporary check in their promotion. But it was otherwise in Madras and Bombay; the Madras Army was only just recovering from the block in promotion caused by the former reduction when this new blow fell upon it.

The promotion of both British officers and native ranks was again hopelessly blocked. For some time the Government of India had adopted a policy tending to unify and centralize the administration of the three separate Indian Armies, and the Headquarter Staff at Simla had begun to

\* One of these regiments was the 37th Grenadiers, the only Grenadier regiment that the Madras Army possessed. Its commandant, Colonel H. Z. Claridge, an old Company's officer, retained the colours of the regiment after its disbandment, and left instructions in his will that they were to be buried with him, which was accordingly done, and the colours under which he had passed the greater part of his life were deposited in his grave.

interfere in the details of administration of the armies of the minor Presidencies. This interference was not always productive of beneficial results; the Simla standards of efficiency were sometimes quite unsuitable to the diverse physical and moral conditions prevailing in other parts of India. For instance, the puttis or leg bandages which support the limbs of the Pathan mountaineer were made to calorify the legs of the Madras sepoy, who sweltered on the sandy plains of Southern and tropical India. The Madras drummer or bandsman, John Dennis or Emmanuel de Souza, as the case might be, whose pride in his European descent had been fostered by fitting him with a shako complete with brass plate and tuft, now found himself, to his intense disgust, compelled to travesty himself as a Musalman by wearing an Afghan turban. The fetish of caste, which had been the ruin of the old Bengal Army, was introduced into the Madras Army under a new name, and was called "class" representation.

Now, the Madras Army had always been conspicuously free from caste or class prejudices and influences. Its regiments were "mixed" regiments—*i.e.*, men of all creeds, classes, and nationalities were mixed together in its companies. Musalmans, Hindus, Christians, and pariahs stood shoulder to shoulder in the ranks, and lived cheek by jowl in the lines. No man was promoted or favoured because he belonged to this or that creed or class; military merit was the sole test of fitness for advancement. The Musalmans were generally the best soldiers, descendants of the men who had conquered the Deccan and the Carnatic, and of the old soldiers of Hyder Ali. Before the Mutiny they formed a large majority of the Madrasi native officers, though the Hindus were as two to one, or as three to one, in the ranks.

In 1857, in one typical battalion of the Madras Army, out of twenty native officers, seventeen were Musalmans, two Mahrattas, and one Telugu, though two-thirds of the rank and file were Telugus and Tamils. The spread of

education, and the superior aptitude of the Hindus for acquiring it, had already considerably altered this state of things, when orders came from Simla that for the future the proportion of classes among the native officers was to bear a direct ratio to the number of that class in the ranks of the regiment. This order was founded on the state of things in the class company regiments of the Bengal Army, where it was necessary that a company, say, of Sikhs should have Sikh native officers to command it. But it was totally unsuited to mixed regiments like the Madras ones. Under this order good men were often passed over for worse ones simply on account of their religion. Native Christians, being too few to form a class by themselves, were classed as Hindus.

Later on the class company system was introduced into the Madras regiments, the Musalmans, Hindus, and pariahs and Christians being segregated in different companies. This system has its advantages; it creates a spirit of rivalry and emulation between the companies, which is an aid to regimental efficiency, and it is popular with the men. But the clannish feeling engendered by it has its drawbacks: it encourages the petty cabals and conspiracies to which the natives of India are so prone; and the British officers learn less of the feelings of the men, or of what is going on among them.

Some Madras infantry regiments were formed into pioneer corps, but as their composition was not changed, and they were not, like the Punjab pioneer regiments, composed entirely of low-caste men of the artisan or labouring class, the experiment was not at first successful.

In 1886 the third Burmese War broke out, and the Madras native troops took their full share of the tedious and harassing guerilla operations which followed on the capture of King Theebaw and the dispersion of his army, and which lasted for two years. But during this war there was begun the system of "conversion," which has caused the almost total elimination of the natives of Southern India



from the ranks of the Indian Army. Shortly after the war the system of the three separate Presidency armies was abolished, and the Indian Army reconstituted in four army corps of the Punjab, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, the Bengal Army being divided to form the two former corps. The strength of the native troops in all the four corps was about equal, and they were all recruited from within their own territorial limits. But now the Punjab Army Corps, like Aaron's rod, has swallowed up, or nearly swallowed up, all its companions. The Madras Army Corps mustered four regiments of cavalry and thirty battalions of infantry; out of these only three squadrons and eleven battalions of Madrasis remain; the rest have gradually, it might be said annually, been "converted" into Punjabi regiments by the following process:

A regiment being selected for conversion, all its native officers and soldiers are mustered out. Those who have served for full rate of pension are transferred to the pension list; those who have served only for half rate are given the option of taking it or of transfer to another Madrasi regiment; those who have not served long enough to qualify for pension are discharged with a gratuity calculated according to their length of service. Their places are filled by recruits enlisted in the Punjab, and with native commissioned and non-commissioned officers drawn from existing Punjabi regiments. These naiks (corporals) are picked from other Punjabi corps and made havildars (sergeants) in the converted regiment. Havildars are similarly taken and promoted to Jemadars (Lieutenants), and Jemadars become Subadars (Captains). Thus the conversion gives a run of promotion through all the other Punjabi regiments. But it has exactly the reverse effect on the remaining Madrasi regiments, into which the native officers and sub-officers of the converted corps are poured as supernumeraries in their rank, blocking all the promotion. And as fresh regiments continually undergo this process of conversion the situation becomes worse and worse. In some of the few remaining Madrasi regiments there has not been a single promotion

in the native ranks for four years ! And the British officers of these regiments also suffer by the conversion process, while their comrades of Punjabi regiments benefit by it ; for at each conversion one or more officers are transferred from a Punjab regiment, generally in a superior grade, thus checking the regimental promotion of the officers of the Madras corps. For a brief period the British officers of the Madras Army were the most lucky in their regimental promotion ; this was in the nineties, when the last of the old Company's officers had been removed by promotion or retirement from the active list. As there was a gap of eight or nine years between them and their juniors, the latter were most fortunate in their regimental advancement, and the Madras battalions were commanded by junior Majors. But the balance was soon redressed by the system of conversion, and the British officers of the few remaining Madras regiments are now the most unlucky in the army.

The object of these conversions is to substitute good for indifferent material in the ranks of the Native Army : a Punjabi is as superior as a soldier to a Madras as a Russian or a German is to a Spaniard or a Neapolitan. Our military chiefs in India naturally desire to have the best fighting material available in the ranks. But the process of conversion is not an economical one, transferring as it does thousands of men to the pension list who are still able and willing to serve. It is also very hard upon the Madras native officers and soldiers who find their promotion entirely blocked, and, moreover, have to face the prospect of their career being arbitrarily closed at any moment. In the few remaining squadrons and battalions the sword of Damocles is hanging over every man's head, for the process of conversion is continually carried on. It is useless to expect zeal and keenness from officers and soldiers under such circumstances. The plea of inefficiency is put forward as an excuse for these conversions ; but the inefficiency is the result of the treatment that the Madras Army has received, and the best army in the world would be ruined by such treatment, as the army of Frederick the

Great was by the policy of his successors, which led directly to the disaster at Jena.

The brigade of Madras sappers is as efficient to-day as any native corps in India, and it is composed of the same material, and recruited from the same races, as the rest of the Madras Army. But it has been continuously employed in the field, it has never suffered from reductions and from consequent stoppage of promotion, and it has a full complement of British company officers and sergeants from the Royal Engineers. If the Madras cavalry and infantry had received the same treatment as the sappers, or the same treatment as the Bengal and Punjab regiments have received, they would be more efficient to-day.

Another plea put forward for the conversion of Madras regiments is that good recruits cannot be obtained in the Madras Presidency; and this deficiency of recruits is again the direct consequence of the treatment which the Madras Army has received. Fifty years ago, when it numbered between 40,000 and 50,000 men, recruits were forthcoming in plenty; to-day there are not enough to maintain its strength at 8,000. No doubt, as the populations of our Indian Empire lose their military instincts under the Pax Britannica, as they become educated according to our standards, as they find more avenues to success in civil employ and commercial callings, and as they gain more and more money in such callings while the pay of the soldier remains stationary, it will become more and more difficult to obtain a sufficient supply of voluntary recruits for our Native Army; and the Punjab itself will at some future date feel the influences which have already affected the Deccan and the Carnatic. But the principal cause of the shortage of recruits for the Madras regiments is to be found in the treatment those regiments have received at the hands of the Government.

The Indian sepoy enlists for long service with pension, and he will not enlist for a service in which it is possible—nay, more than probable—that after giving the best years

of his life to it he may be turned adrift with a gratuity which will only suffice to keep him from starvation for a few months. The Government has by its own action created a deficiency of recruits, which is then alleged as a reason for further disbandments. The plea is similar to that of the criminal who, when convicted of the murder of his parents, pleaded for mercy on the ground that he was an orphan.

Finally, the four separate Army Corps were fused in one Indian Army, and all the regiments were renumbered on a single list. Now, of the three Presidency armies, the Madras was the oldest, and its regiments should therefore have been those to retain their original numbers; but this was not the case. The 1st Madras Light Cavalry was raised in 1784, and the 1st Bengal Cavalry in 1804; but the latter became under the new scheme the 1st Regiment of Indian Cavalry, and the former became the 26th. Similarly, the 1st Madras Infantry, raised in 1763 (the doyen of the Indian Army), became the 61st; while the 1st Bengal Infantry, raised in 1776, retained its number and position of seniority on the new list.

Regiments added to the Bengal Army at the time of the Mutiny take precedence of Madras regiments senior to them by nearly a hundred years. The authorities at Simla seem anxious to obliterate every reminiscence of the past, for even the names of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay have been expunged from the army list. The Madras cavalry regiments now figure merely as light cavalry; and, indeed, they are chiefly composed of Punjabis. The infantry regiments have been dubbed "Carnatic" instead of "Madras" regiments, apparently on the principle that any change is better than none. These changes of titles and numbers bewilder and disturb the sepoy, to whom change of any kind is absolutely hateful. It may be hoped that the change in the name of the Madras regiments may also mean a change in their fortunes, which would involve the cessation of their misfortunes.

## ASIA AND IMPERIAL COMMERCE.

BY S. M. MITRA.

OWING to the recent visit of the Colonial Premiers in London, it seems to be the most opportune time for inviting attention to the purely Imperial commercial aspect of the anti-Asiatic legislation in British self-governing colonies.

I need not recapitulate the political arguments on either side of the question contained in the voluminous correspondence on the subject, published in the Blue-books Cd. 2239, Cd. 3308, Cd. 2104, Cd. 1683, Cd. 1684, C. 8596, C. 5,448, C. 7911, and Green book No. 2 of 1894. It will perhaps suffice to say that neither the Colonial Governments nor the representatives of the British Indians—whether in the Colonies or in Parliament, or at the recent deputation of November 8, 1906, to Lord Elgin—have at all discussed the question from the purely Imperial commercial point of view. The importance of the Asiatic problem in the self-governing colonies, from a purely Imperial commercial point of view, is, in my humble opinion, in no way less important than any question which has been on the agenda paper of the Colonial Conference. To put the case briefly, I need only quote Sir Arthur Lawley, who, in his letter to Lord Milner dated April 13, 1904, said: "Promises have been made without knowledge or perception of the consequence involved in their fulfilment—promises which it is greater crime to keep than to break." Lord Milner took the same view, and now Lord Selborne has expressed his complete agreement with Lord Milner, and urged the home authorities to sanction the prohibition of Asiatic immigration into the Transvaal.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was a political *entente cordiale*; a real *entente commerciale* between Great Britain and Asia can only be secured by the good treatment of

Asiatics throughout the British Empire. The Asiatics who travel to distant parts of the world in search of trade, on return to their country are naturally regarded as trade experts in their small home circles, and thus become the medium for the distribution of European goods in their countries. Such commercial links are destined to play a most important part in the commercial expansion of Great Britain or her commercial rival Germany, according to their friendliness or the reverse. And this depends largely on the treatment they have received in various countries of the world under the British flag. From the anti-Asiatic spirit displayed by the colonial Government, it is clear that they do not approach commercial problems from a truly Imperial point of view. It is to be regretted that in colonial legislation the wider commercial interests of the mother country are allowed to take their chance, being subordinated to local considerations. Politics and commerce are not only compatible, but really inseparable. Fortunately the final word in such a case does not lie with, for instance, the Transvaal Government, for Section 7 of Instruction VII., dated December 6, 1906, granting the Transvaal Constitution, says "the Governor shall not assent in Our name to any law of an extraordinary nature and importance whereby our prerogative, or the rights and property of our subjects not residing in the Colony, *or the trade and shipping of the United Kingdom* and its dependencies, may be prejudiced." The *raison d'être* of this paper is to show that anti-Asiatic legislation on the part of the Colonies is calculated to affect prejudicially the trade of the United Kingdom.

In 1888 the then Colonial Secretary, Lord Knutsford, warned the Australian authorities that bad treatment of the Asiatics in the Colonies could not possibly quicken British interests in Asia. His Lordship, with reference to the deplorable ss. *Afghan* incident, wrote: "It is important to ascertain whether, in substitution for legislation of a similar kind" (Chinese immigration into Australia), "other arrange-

ments in accordance with the feelings and views of the Chinese Government, and at the same time fully appreciative for the purpose of restricting Chinese immigration, may not be adopted. Having regard to the political and commercial interests of the Empire, and particularly to the commercial interests of the Australasian colonies, no avoidable obstacle should be placed in the way of trade with China," etc. The Asiatic question affects not only the Transvaal, but other self-governing colonies also. Yet this is the question which the Colonial Conference is not discussing. It is not only an Empire problem, but really a world problem—complicated both by Great Britain being the greatest Asiatic Power and by her alliance with Japan. Imperial commercial questions which vitally affect the whole of the Empire can only be satisfactorily dealt with by one Empire Government, and not differently by several Governments within the Empire, according to their merely local interests. It is the principle of a central Government that Imperial policy must be based on broad Empire lines, which should not in any way prejudicially affect the real commercial interests of the Empire as a whole. Imperial commerce is of more importance than colonial trade. There is no denying the fact that upon the industrial strength of Great Britain depends the maintenance of her sea-power, and therefore the defence of the Empire. Great Britain's industrial strength depends largely on the markets in Asia—an area which contains about half of the entire human race. In favour of British goods, India and some other populous Asiatic countries have seen many of their ancient indigenous industries dwindle and decay. Though Great Britain's trade with Asia has ample room for expansion, yet at present Asia takes over one-fourth of the total exports of the United Kingdom. In 1905 the value of the total exports of produce and manufactures of Great Britain amounted to £329,816,614, out of which Asia took goods valued at £87,379,894, as follows:

## VALUE OF BRITISH EXPORTS TO ASIA, 1905

				£
British India	...	...	...	47,373,677
China (including Hong Kong, Macao, and Wei-hai-wei)	...	...	...	16,859,216
Japan (including Formosa)	...	...	...	9,661,896
Asiatic Turkey	...	...	...	3,648,406
Java and other Dutch possessions in Indian seas	...	...	...	3,485,212
Straits Settlements	...	...	...	3,227,239
Ceylon	...	...	...	1,368,469
Siam	...	...	...	532,872
Persia	...	...	...	473,026
Aden	...	...	...	245,768
Portuguese possessions in India	...	...	...	212,185
Indo-China	...	...	...	65,696
Korea	...	...	...	65,642
Dutch Borneo	...	...	...	50,639
Malay States	...	...	...	36,959
Sarawak	...	...	...	22,339
British Borneo	...	...	...	21,857
Arabia (Muscat)	...	...	...	19,577
French possessions in India	...	...	...	5,005
Labuan	...	...	...	4,214
Total	...	...	...	87,379,894

Considering the commercial interests involved, it is undesirable that Great Britain should embark on a commercial struggle with Asiatics. Morally, persecution in the British colonies is an admission of the victory of the Asiatic. Materially, it affects prejudicially the commercial expansion of Great Britain in Asia. Anti-Asiatic feeling in the British colonies is likely to undo what the Anglo-Japanese Alliance would have indirectly done towards the expansion of British trade in Asia. An anti-Asiatic policy is an unworthy policy for the Central Government to sanction, and cannot stimulate and maintain the industrial



supremacy of Great Britain, which is a trust handed down to the nation by past generations. The true politics for a Central Government must take into consideration a commercial working policy for the whole Empire—for on that depends the defence of the Empire. The commercial rise of Germany may appear sudden to the superficial observer. Germany's commercial expansion is due not so much to German activity as to British inactivity, and sometimes to British activity on wrong lines. Great Britain often pays a heavy price commercially for colonial political indiscretions. Colonial Governments look mainly to what seem to them—for the time being—necessities of the individual colonies concerned. Unfortunately, in the matter of an "Asiatic scare"—termed by them "Asiatic danger"—they have shown little regard for Empire considerations. In their zeal for anti-Asiatic legislation they forget that the mother country won by force rights of trade and residence from reluctant Asiatics, by whom anti-Asiatic legislation under the British flag will be resented. The Asiatic, finding himself unable to fight politically, will show his resentment practically by boycotting British goods in his country.

A careful study of the Blue books on the subject of Asiatic immigration into various self-governing colonies shows that, at first, the settlement of the question is unnecessarily delayed; then, all of a sudden, over the cry of "Asiatic danger"—raised probably by some trading ring—it is settled in a panic. Is it any wonder that they forget that three-fourths of the population of the Empire are Asiatics, and ignore the real Imperial commercial aspect of the question? It could have been nothing but "Asiatic danger" panic that seized the Australian Government when they went so far as to prohibit the employment of Asiatics on the high seas on board of any vessel under contract to carry mails for Australia; for otherwise it is difficult to imagine how the presence of a few lascars on a mail steamer—not owned by the Australian Government—interfered with the industrial development of the Commonwealth.

Anyhow, it showed how far colonial statesmen are out of touch with the real interests of India, an important portion of the Empire. In support of this un-British measure the Colonial Governments generally put forward social and economic reasons for opposing Asiatic immigration. They forget that Asiatics did not creep in uninvited and unobserved. As late as 1876 the Cape House of Assembly passed Resolutions in favour of the importation of Asiatic labourers. It is not denied that Indian labourers saved the West Indies, British Guiana, and Trinidad from industrial ruin, and that Natal's present prosperity is due to Indian labourers. Neither is it denied that the proportion of *free* Indians in the whole of British South Africa is only one in sixty-two, and that there are eleven white people to every one Indian. The Indian trader is considered respectable, for it is an open secret that both at Pretoria and Durban the Indian trader easily obtains credit from wholesale European houses when it is refused to white traders. Asiatics have done a great deal for the British colonies. The prosperity of the Malaya, Borneo, and the Straits is due to Chinese industry. The Uganda Railway was built by Indian labourers. Morally, the position of the British Indian is unassailable. From the Colonial trade point of view he is said to be undesirable. My object, as I have intimated before, is to show from the real Imperial commercial point of view how far the Imperial authorities would be justified in upholding a measure directed against Asiatics. I do not appeal to any gratuitous sentimentalism. If the purely commercial aspect of the question is not clearly recognized, Imperial commerce will be landed in a serious deadlock in India, if not in the whole of Asia. Anyone who is acquainted with the rudiments of the distribution of the manufactures of Great Britain among the rural population of India, which comprises about 250,000,000 persons—*i.e.*, about 80 per cent. of the entire population—the backbone of the Indian people—will at once understand what I mean. Importers of British goods into India are no

doubt large wholesale houses—mostly British—at Karachee, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, and Chittagong. But the distribution of these goods, naturally, is, and will always be, in the hands of native agency. According to the last census (Blue book, Cd. 2660), about three millions of native middlemen of various sorts are engaged in the distribution of commerce in India :

Middlemen and their clerks	...	...	431,218
Brokers and their agents	...	...	219,300
Petty shopkeepers	...	...	201,723
Pedlers and hawkers	...	...	113,037
Petty dealers (manohari)	...	...	53,742
Cart owners and drivers	...	...	608,248
Pack-camel and mule drivers	...	...	421,498
Pack-bullock owners and drivers	...	...	145,105
Native boatmen	...	...	593,345
Total			2,787,216

The petty village traders, better known in India as the Banya, Bohra, and Komti, serve as commercial links between the wholesale British importers and the actual consumers in the Indian villages. They are thus the invaluable economic factors in the distribution of British goods among the teeming millions in India. People of this class are the very persons who are subjected to a form of treatment which any British subject would resent. Such treatment cannot inspire good-feeling. When they return home from distant countries, they serve as missionaries of discontent in India. It is well known that a section of the educated classes, representing the "Indian National Congress," are trying their best to "boycott" British goods. But so far their *modus operandi* has met with only limited success. When, however, they get hold of these middlemen returned indignant with the treatment received in British colonies, England will be face to face with the most difficult problem of the sale of British goods in India. The recent

Chinese boycott of American goods showed clearly how Asiatics are prone to settle political differences economically by the "boycotting" of goods. As it is, Germany is making successful inroads on the trade of India. The trade between Germany and India has during the last decade achieved a marked development; the total value of the annual imports to India from Germany has increased 100 per cent. (*vide* Blue-book, Cd. 2682-48). Germany now ranks third in importance amongst the various countries in the world in the value of both the import and the export trades of India. She turns to commercial advantage every political action or inaction of the Government of India. A few years ago, when I was in India, it struck me most forcibly how the German trader took advantage of British administrative orders. The British authorities, in certain native States, with some vigour laid stress on an old Regulation that no European British subject could be tried by the courts of Native Princes, with a view to bringing the procedure on a par with similar law existing in British India. In enforcing the law the British Government laid stress on the fact that the right to try European British subjects in Native States was the prerogative of the Paramount Power. This was popularly believed to mean that the British authorities, and not the individual concerned, could in a Native State waive his right, which he could waive in British India. As no Europeans could be tried by Native Courts, some of the Native States have standing circulars against the acquisition in their State of land by Europeans. The result is that, if a European wishes to settle down as a trader, he finds it much easier to acquire land in the name of a native than in any other way. If an inquiry were made, it will be found that Germans are taking advantage of this loophole, and, by making use of the present unfortunate anti-English feeling in India, are pushing their trade. It is an open secret that, in several *Swadeshi* exhibitions (exhibitions of indigenous articles of India), while British goods were rigorously excluded, articles "made in Germany"

had free access. At a time like this the greatest care is required to guard British commercial interests in India in particular, and Asia in general. The commercial supremacy of England is, no doubt, without parallel and without precedent, but it is not without rivals. Every weak point in the Imperial commercial system, if not attended to at once, may in the long-run prove disastrous to British commercial interests in the East. External economic interests lie at the root of most international conflicts, for every nation wants markets for the sale of its surplus manufactures. Asia is England's good customer. Asia finds employment for a large number of Englishmen in factories and wharves. The Asiatic contributes largely to the circulation of capital. These economic factors must be taken into consideration by the British nation. If the commercial vision of England is to be bounded by a colonial horizon, such a policy may lead to the practical disintegration of the Empire. Nothing can be compared with the eventual commercial disaster to which such a policy must lead, for the sinews of war mean money, and money is derived from trade.

The Asiatic question in the Colonies is a form of struggle between a simple Asiatic life and a complex European civilization. The total population of South Africa, as per census of 1904, is roughly  $6\frac{1}{2}$  millions. The total white population is less than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions. Therefore it is doubtful whether the Transvaal can be called a white man's country in any other sense than that the white man can live and thrive there. The British Indian trader and the hawker rely on the support of wholesale European houses, and the latter on the white householders of all descriptions. The Indians would hardly be able to exist in the Transvaal but for such support received from the white population. He is in South Africa because he is wanted, otherwise it would not pay him to be there. There is no doubt that "the man on the spot" knows best the requirements of the "spot." But it does not follow, therefore, that, for the sake of a

particular "spot" or a portion of the Empire, the commercial interests of the whole of the Empire should be allowed to suffer. If the presence of the Banya, Bohra, and Komti (Indian traders and hawkers) is objected to by the Transvaal Government, there are other ways of getting rid of unwelcome people than "slamming the door," the method employed by Lord Selborne and Lord Milner. If the Home Government accept the statement of the "man on the spot," they can stop Indian immigration into the Transvaal by other methods than those calculated to wound their feelings.

In November, 1897, Mr. T. J. Nakagawa, the Japanese Consul in Sydney, wrote to the Premier of New South Wales: "The Government of Japan will be quite prepared at any time to make an arrangement by treaty or otherwise that will practically secure for New South Wales, so far as Japan is concerned, all that the proposed (anti-Asiatic) legislation can secure. I desire to express my most earnest hope that nothing will be allowed to occur which is calculated to check the development of the commercial intercourse of the two countries, and to destroy the friendly feeling that now exists in Japan towards New South Wales." But the fact of the Australian Government contemptuously ignoring the courteous offer—the parallel of which will with difficulty be found in the whole records of consulate and diplomatic correspondence of any country—shows the desirability of Imperial control over Colonial affairs where important questions of Imperial policy are at stake. An Act was passed by the Japanese Government in 1896, and amended in 1901, for the regulation and control of emigration, and for the protection of Japanese emigrants. Under this Act it is provided that no Japanese may go abroad without first applying to the Government (in writing) for permission to do so, and his application must be accompanied by a guarantee, signed by two or more responsible sureties for the good conduct of the emigrant while abroad. On receipt of such application the Government may grant

a passport, provided that it is satisfied as to the character of the applicant, the position of the sureties, and also that there is no danger of the emigrant's presence being in any way offensive to the people of the country whither he intends to go.

I know the passport system suggested above will appear to the liberal mind as an un-English measure. But I respectfully submit that it would be *less* un-English than the "slam-the-door" method now followed in the Transvaal. It would be a more conciliatory method, and likely to accomplish the end the Transvaal Government have in view, with a minimum of irritation to all parties concerned.

As a British subject I have thought it my duty to state what appears to me to be the Imperial commercial side of anti-Asiatic legislation in the self-governing colonies, and I trust that these views may receive due consideration by all parties concerned.

[NOTE.—The substance of this paper was laid before Lord Elgin on April 30, 1907.—ED.]

## INDIAN ADMINISTRATION : SUGGESTIONS BY AN OLD DISTRICT OFFICER.\*

BY J. B. PENNINGTON, M.C.S. (RETIRED).

LOOKING through the very interesting discussion which followed Mr. J. D. Anderson's suggestive paper on "Constitutional Problems in India,"† and especially considering the remarks of the chairman, Sir Charles Elliott, and Lord Reay's broad hint‡ to other District Officers, I have rather reluctantly come to the conclusion that it may be a sort of duty to submit one's ideas on the same most important subject, however crude and, of course, antiquated, they may be, to the useful criticism of such a body of experts as one has to face with your readers and at the meetings of the East India Association, and perhaps nowhere else.

As I intended to say at that meeting had there been more time, and had not Sir William Wedderburn already said much the same thing, I sympathize entirely with the view that the District Officer is the pivot on which the whole Government of the country works, and that there is no constitutional problem so important or so difficult as that of improving and strengthening his position; but I also quite agree that he requires a far more scientific training for his work than he ever had in my time. I am quite aware, of course, that many men have made themselves into wonderfully efficient Deputy-Governors—the title "Collector and Magistrate" is notoriously inadequate—just as very many men have educated themselves far better than any *École des Sciences Politiques* could have done it for them; but still, speaking for myself and others who have not had the happiness to be "born administrators"—and even in the Indian Civil Service everyone is

\* For discussion on this paper, see report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

† April, 1907, pp. 263-278.

‡ April, 1907, pp. 355-359, 361.



not a heaven-sent genius—I must admit that I often felt the want of a more systematic technical training than I ever received.

There is probably no human institution so perfect as never to need any reform—and, personally, I am so radically constituted that I should have much more confidence even in a Church that did not profess to be one which had been completely and *finally* “reformed” three or four hundred years ago. Every institution should always be reforming (or trying to reform) itself; and even the Indian Civil Service, I venture to say, is no exception to the rule; so that I hope I may be permitted to suggest points in which my own experience seems to me to show the need of improvement. Still, I cannot help feeling that it is a difficult and delicate task to attempt to teach an Indian civilian, because one thing we are all supposed to learn is to have a very good conceit of ourselves. It was a real pleasure to meet a modest Bengali—whether Indian or English—and I hope there may be some, like Mr. Anderson and myself, who would perhaps admit that there are points in Political Economy and the Fiscal Question, for instance, on which they would be glad of such instruction as would enable them to steer their way safely between the Scylla of Sir Roper Lethbridge and the Charybdis of Mr. Mitra.

It may be a somewhat irrelevant remark, but I should like to say that I would not even oppose *all* Tariff Reform. Tariffs are as much in need of constant reform as any other institution. What I object to is “Protection” for failing industries masquerading under the name of “Tariff Reform.”

First of all, I should like to emphasize what was said by several speakers about the training of young civilians in the language of the district in which they are to be employed. I wish it to be clearly understood that I speak only from my own experience, but I feel sure that many men will agree with me that it is becoming more and more difficult to acquire a really competent knowledge of the

vernacular, as the knowledge of English becomes more and more widely spread, so that greater care is necessary now to insure that the young administrators really know the language of their districts; and at any rate unnecessary difficulties need not be put in the way of those who are anxious to learn, as I was myself. In my time it was not unusual to transfer a man who was gradually acquiring a working knowledge of Telugu, for instance, to a district (in my case Tinnevely) where Telugu was almost unknown. Curiously enough, there was a colony of stout Telugu-speaking Reddies in the extreme south of the district who were always a great comfort to me, and made me feel more at home in a strange land than I was just at first. When I went there as sub-collector in 1866 there were only three clerks in my office, including the native head of it (the Sheristadar), who had any knowledge at all of English, and my revenue and magisterial clerks—one a Telugu Brahmin, the other a Mussulman—had to explain the papers they read to me in Telugu or Hindustani (of which my knowledge was very limited), as the case might be, and turn my orders into Tamil, of which I knew scarcely enough to be sure that they had expressed my meaning properly. It was not long, of course, before every clerk in the office knew English much better than I ever knew Tamil. But I quite agree with Mr. Anderson that there never was a time when a thorough knowledge of the local language was more necessary than it is now, and the question is how this familiar knowledge is to be acquired under modern conditions. Like Sir Charles Elliott, I cannot bring myself to believe in the mixed Indian college for the training of both English and Indian civilians, and I doubt very much if that is the best way to acquire a good working knowledge of the language and character of the common people. To pick that up one must go about the country with them, and away from English-speaking or even high-caste natives, and perhaps the most effectual way (now that female dictionaries are no longer *comme il faut*)

is a long shooting excursion. As Sir Thomas Munro with his unrivalled experience long ago observed, "Nothing is more essential than a thorough intimate knowledge of the (common) people, and that is only to be acquired by an early and free intercourse with them, for which the Revenue Department presents infinitely more facilities than any other. It ought to be our aim to give to the younger officials the best opinion of the natives, in order that they may be the better qualified to govern them. *We can never be qualified to govern men against whom we are prejudiced.*" I wish all our young Imperialists in the Colonies, as well as in India, would bear more constantly in mind that dictum of one of the wisest men who ever went to India.

A good deal has been done of late years, I believe, to put a stop to the constant changes of officers from one district to another which were so inimical to good administration, and personally I had nothing much to complain of on that score (except my first transfer), having never spent less than three years in any district as collector, and only leaving my first district on account of ill-health. But to insure continuity of policy something more is necessary, and this brings me to the much-debated question of the further employment of Indian officials in the higher administrative appointments—that is, in fact, as collectors and magistrates—and that is the only point on which I should have liked to say a few more words on February 22 last. Now I may say at once that I share the doubts expressed by Sir Charles Elliott and Mr. Ritchie as to the wisdom of attempting to start a full-blown Parliament even in Madras, which is, I fancy, probably more likely to provide a level-headed Parliament than any other province. What I think we ought to try first is to weld the best of our Indian officials into the present much-abused "bureaucratic" form of Government, and see if we cannot associate them on more equal terms with the present district officials. As I ventured to say once before, we are accustomed in Madras to seeing a district governed sometimes by a collector with the aid of

a very powerful native subordinate, who is known as the "Huzúr Sheristadar," and sometimes by the same Sheristadar with a mere backing of "collector." What Mr. Smeaton proposes, as far as I remember, is to make these two authorities coequal in dignity and power, so that they should act generally in consultation, something like a Resident of a native State and the Prime Minister, and be prepared to act alone in case of emergency. Two such officials might well be entrusted with the oversight of two districts, so that the number of the more highly paid Europeans employed might at once be reduced almost by half. This seems to me the most practical scheme I have seen for employing the well-qualified natives of the country, and giving them a fair opportunity of proving their capacity for government. With the experience we have had of native statesmen in Mysore, Travancore, Baroda and elsewhere, there can be very little doubt that a sufficient number of highly educated men of undoubted probity would be forthcoming in Madras; in fact, the experience of the judicial service is sufficient to assure us on this point. The rendition of Mysore is an encouraging proof of the success of a policy which might, I think, be adapted to British India generally. It would even improve the position of the English as well as the Indian district official.

Possibly Sir Steyning Edgerley's plan for decentralization and devolution of powers to an advisory council acting as a sort of cog in the wheel of district administration might be even more useful as a means of educating our Indian fellow-subjects in the higher art of government; but, personally, I should much prefer to try the other plan to begin with, and I also think that as an education in the art of government it would be infinitely more effective, as well as infinitely more helpful to the district officer than any merely advisory body could ever be. As the editor of the *Indian Spectator* shrewdly observes, the "district collector under this system would be assisted—which sometimes means kept in check" (and, I would add, hampered)—"by

an advisory council," which would apparently have little or no steadying responsibility. It is only by being entrusted with full responsibility that anyone can prove his fitness for responsible functions, and it seems to be almost universally admitted at last that qualified Indians *must* be employed more and more largely in the higher ranks of Government, and that, in fact, Sir Thomas Munro was clearly right when he said, nearly a century ago, that it is impossible to govern any people while excluding them from all share in their own government. Most civilians in Madras, I hope, even yet take Sir Thomas Munro as their model, and certainly a critical study of his principles and methods must be of the greatest possible advantage to any administrator.

I make no excuse for quoting again from that admirable minute of December 31, 1824—the date of which proves that we have been careful, at any rate, to respect the motto *Festina lente*—and I call particular attention to the following extracts: "The employment of natives in high offices will be as much for our own advantage as for theirs; it will tend to economy and *efficiency*. . . ." "I am persuaded that" (the substitution of European for native agency) "would not only render the character of the people worse and worse, but our Government *more and more inefficient*. . . ." "No conceit more wild and absurd than this" (of excluding the natives from every important office) "was ever engendered in the darkest ages. . . ." "Let Britain be subjugated by a foreign Power to-morrow, and let the people be excluded from all share in the government, from public honours, from every office of high trust or emolument, and let them in every situation be considered unworthy of trust, and all their knowledge . . . would not save them from becoming in another generation or two a low-minded, deceitful, and dishonest race. . . ." "It would certainly be *more* desirable that we should be expelled from the country altogether than that the result of our government should be such a debasement of a whole people."

But it is one thing to admit the people to a share in the

government of their own country ; it is quite another thing to change the constitution of that country radically. What is wanted for India, in my very humble opinion, is not an Abbé Sieyès, but a common-sense, honest administration of the government as it is. It is all very well to make invidious comparisons between the government of India and that of Russia, and no doubt in a certain sense the government of India is a bureaucratic despotism ; but there is all the difference in the world between an orderly despotism founded on the most scrupulous respect for law and for equal personal rights and a despotism such as that of Russia, with its negation of all rights for political offenders. Where in India can be found any parallel to Siberia ? I may perhaps be allowed to anticipate criticism here by saying that I do not intend to discuss the question of deportation. None of us likes exceptional methods and suspensions of the regular law ; but, after all, the safety of the people is the supreme law of all laws ; and, at any rate, all such suspensions are only temporary, and not part of the administration I am concerned with. If people declare war against the Government they must expect to be met by warlike methods. At the same time, I am quite free to admit that the methods of the Indian Government might be improved by a freer association of the intellectual natives of the country in the upper ranks of the official hierarchy. It is quite possible that in this way might be found the real remedy for the present unsatisfactory relations between the Government and the native press. No one who has worked in close association with the better class of highly educated native officials can have any doubt as to their ability, or as to the loyalty of their co-operation in the work of honest government.

At the risk of making this paper much longer than I think it is at all worthy of being made, I am tempted to add a few words here from the same never-failing source of wisdom as to the peculiar danger of a free press in India, because an ill-informed and often unfair press is

one of the thorns in the flesh which afflict a modern collector even more than it did in my time. I hope Sir Thomas was not quite right on this point, and I think he might have modified his views had he been in India now, but certainly his warnings are deserving of the most respectful consideration; and I am not sure that the freedom of the press is not dearly purchased even in this country. As to a free press in India, it will be remembered that Sir Thomas Munro thought it "incompatible with the dominion of strangers," and certainly it adds immensely to the difficulties of administration, as is shown by recent events in the Punjab. He thought "the good to be expected from a free press trifling and uncertain," and "the mischief incalculable." He says "the removal of such moderate restrictions as were" (formerly) "in force could be of no particular advantage to anyone except the proprietors of newspapers, whose whole business it is to sell these papers, for which purpose they are bound to fill them with such articles as will pay. Now, nothing in a newspaper excites so much interest as personal attacks on the conduct of Government or its officers, and this is peculiarly the case in India, where, from the" (comparative) "smallness of European society, almost all the officials are well known," and suffer more even than in this country from "the fierce light that beats about the throne."

If, indeed, editors were invariably as wise as they always seem to consider themselves, absolute freedom of the press would be an unmixed blessing; but, as things are in India at any rate, Sir Thomas Munro thought "nothing could be more dangerous. . . . In place of spreading useful knowledge among the people and tending to their better government, it would generate insubordination, insurrection and anarchy. . . . It *must* spread among the people the principles of liberty, and stimulate them to expel the strangers who rule over them, and to establish a national Government." It has probably taken longer than he

expected, but no one can doubt that we are face to face now with the very situation Sir Thomas Munro anticipated so clearly. I notice that a considerable authority on such subjects said the other day that, in his opinion, "*war as it is now mainly produced in the world by the press* is a thousand times more cruel than when it was the work of potentates or peoples." I should not have ventured to say that myself, but I have long thought that there might have been no Boer War if it had not been necessary for a certain notorious halfpenny paper to advertise itself.

I certainly think some steps should be taken to reduce the mischief done by ill-founded stories and downright lies in the public press, whether Indian, Anglo-Indian, or English, and to prevent and correct misleading statements as promptly as possible. It is true that the higher education is one of the causes of the present "unrest," and that a certain amount of "unrest" is unavoidable, or even wholesome; but education alone would not excite such bitter feeling as apparently exists in many parts of India at present; and it is impossible not to fear that a very reasonable Indian paper may be right in thinking that "the hauteur of modern Englishmen, and their supreme contempt of the Indians, due to their pitiable ignorance of Indian character, habits, and customs, have worked," shall I say, *some* of the "mischief."

There are still some minor matters in which, I think, the present system is susceptible of improvement—one to which attention has often been invited by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji—and that is the early age at which English civilians leave the country, thus robbing it not only of their savings and the pensions which under ordinary circumstances would be spent in the country where they were earned, but also—and that is an even more serious grievance—of their experience. It is most urgently necessary, I think, that some inducement should be offered to the better class of administrator to stay longer in the country, and to the inferior class to go at an earlier date. To compel men



to whom the country and the work are hateful—and, unfortunately, there are always a few such benighted individuals—to stay on for a full pension when they would often gladly go on reduced pensions after ten or fifteen years' service, and to tempt good men to retire after twenty-five years' service when they would willingly stay on if the same inducement were offered them as is given to Judges of the High Court, seems to me to be the height of administrative absurdity.

Then, I think it is desirable to send the passed civilians to an agricultural college rather than to the old Universities, where a great deal of time (I don't say all of it), from the technical point of view, is practically almost wasted. Something of this kind was evidently in Sir Edward Buck's mind the other day when he spoke of the need for Indian Cirencesters.

And that brings me to the last subject on which I need say anything. I have always regretted the abolition of the old Haileybury College, where so many distinguished men were brought up in an Indian atmosphere, and cultivated an *esprit de corps* of a more intimate character than the merely official and casual bond which fortunately still unites members of the Indian Civil Service. I cannot help thinking that the systematic training undergone at Haileybury under distinguished men, whose whole lives were devoted to the training of administrators in the best traditions of the service (a training which might, no doubt, have been easily improved), was an advantage we "competition wallahs" ought not to have been so lightly deprived of.

I may just add that these ideas were all in type before I had seen Mr. Anderson's excellent paper in *East and West* for April last, with most of which I am in complete sympathy.

## SOUTHERN NIGERIA—RELIGION AND WITCHCRAFT.

BY MAJOR ARTHUR GLYN LEONARD.

Mr. Sidney Hartland, in addressing the Anthropological Section at the meeting of the British Association in 1906, contended that however magic and religion may have diverged by civilization, their origin was in the same primitive soil, and it was at times difficult to say where the professional magician ended and the professional priest began; and however much Society might have evolved, it was always possible to trace the primitive connexion between magic and religion. "Priests have become organized into a separate order, and triumphant religions have proscribed the conquered faiths. But practices essentially magical may be incorporated in religious rites and exercised for what is believed to be the general good, and they will continue to be exercised with general assent even in the highest forms of religion."

### I.—PRIESTCRAFT TRACED TO ITS ORIGIN THROUGH THE CUSTOMS AND TRADITIONS OF THE IBO TRIBE.

To a statement such as this made by Mr. Sidney Hartland before the Anthropological Section of the British Association but one construction can be placed when regarded from the public standpoint. But however accurate or worthy of consideration this may appear, it will be my endeavour in the following article to show (1) that, as far as primitive or natural\* man was concerned, the professional priest and the professional magician were, and are, a class quite distinct from each other. (2) That the only connexion between primitive religion and magic was that they had a common origin in the human mind. (3) This apart, that naturism, which was the natural religion of all primitive or natural people, was from the beginning an evolution distinct from that of witchcraft. But before I even attempt to substantiate statements that are obviously so

\* The word "natural," as used throughout this article, implies a sociological state, which, if not absolutely primitive, has been an ancestral inheritance which presumably existed from a period anywhere between 2,000 and 4,000 B.C.

contrary to received opinion, let it be clearly understood that I am not doing so for the purpose of advancing any arguments of my own ; but that, on the contrary, it is my intention to place before the public evidence which is substantiated by customs and practices such as are now in existence among a natural people.

The people of whom I now specially speak are the tribe known in Southern Nigeria as the Igbo or Ibo—the largest and most important of all the tribes in that region. Apart, however, from this the fact that the religion and the witchcraft of all the tribes—except for very minor local superficialities—is identical, I have selected the Ibo for a most essential reason—viz., because the traditions of their descent are much more reliable and luminous ; because, in fact, they throw a greater light than the traditions of all the other tribes on the very question which is now at issue.

Let us inquire then, first of all, into the origin and history of this, as we call it, barbarous, but all the same extremely interesting and intelligent, people. According to their own account, the Igbo or Ibo tribe proper is divided into four districts or clans, all of which pay an annual tribute—more or less nominal—to the “Nri” as the parent stock from which they are derived, while outside this closer bond of union are several other communities, which also tender allegiance, and are acknowledged as offshoots therefrom. Nri, which is now only a small community that does not boast of temporal power in any shape or form, is situated some forty miles to the east of Onitsha, in the district of Isuama—Onitsha being an Ibo town 190 miles from the sea, on the east bank of the Niger, just below where the Anambara, a small stream, flows into it. The inhabitants of this particular community are known throughout the entire Igbo country as “king-makers.” Investigated and explained, the term implies that they possess the sole prerogative of conferring the kingship of a community upon all Ibo chiefs aspiring to or claiming the title, the distinguishing insignia being an anklet made out of pine-

apple fibre. In addition to this unique prerogative, they enjoy the privilege of walking untouched or unharmed through any portion of the Ibo country. To appreciate the great importance of this privilege, it is necessary to understand that one of the salient and most characteristic features of Southern Nigerian sociology is the studied isolation of all towns or communities, and the practical taboo which is placed on all outside communication and intercourse. To my knowledge only two other instances of a similar privilege have come to light. The first of these is that among the Ibibio all members of the Idion fraternity are entitled to go and come as they please within the confines of their own country; and the second is with regard to the Ama-obo, or clan commonly known as the Aro or Inokun, who as possessors of the Chuku Ibi-ama, or God the Creator, had the right of passage through all the country lying between the Cross and Niger rivers to the south of Igbo land proper until 1902, when their power was broken and their prestige lowered by the British Government.

That this claim on the part of Nri to be the parent stock from which the Ibo have sprung is no mere empty title can be practically substantiated—just to quote a single instance—by the allegiance voluntarily accorded to them by the people of Asaba. A large and populous town on the western bank of the Niger some five miles above Onitsha, the Kings of Ahaba, as its own inhabitants call it, have not only to be crowned by delegates from Nri, but all young people requiring to undergo the rite of circumcision or the ornamentation of their bodies with indigo are also obliged to submit to the same rule. In doing this they but acknowledge the supremacy of the older or patriarchal branch; for as belonging to N'tege—a town on the eastern side of the river situated close to Onitsha, from which they separated presumably some 200 to 300 years ago—they trace their descent direct from Nri.

But it is most of all in the reverence which is still paid, and the precedence that is accorded to the Nri section by

all the other Igbo communities, that favours the belief which prevails among them that the former are the progenitors of the latter. This is the more obvious when all the circumstances in connexion with the matter have been investigated and appreciated. Then it becomes quite evident that the homage in question has nothing whatever to do with considerations arising from social and commercial intercourse, or yet, again, from any questions of warlike or material supremacy, because the Nri are now not only more or less scattered, but are in no sense either a powerful or a warlike family. But, on the contrary, it is acknowledged that they are the highest representatives of sacerdotalism in the Ibo race; an office carrying with it certain sacred attributes, which has undoubtedly been handed down to them as an ancestral heirloom by virtue of the law of primogeniture, which among these natives carries with it a natural holiness and significance that nothing can either alter or affect, and which therefore can neither be gainsaid nor set aside. For as being to them the law of Nature—*i.e.*, of God—it is the law of precedence, before which every one and everything is obliged to give way. But with the exception of this proverb: "The street of the Nri family is the street of the gods, through which all who die in other parts of Igbo-land pass to the land of spirits," there are no traditions of any kind in support of this. Yet, as will be seen, when the principles of the Ibo faith have been digested, and especially when it is understood that of all their religious sacraments the burial rite is the most sacred, merely because it is the indispensable passport to the ancestral spirit-land, there is a spiritual significance in this old-time proverb which at once reveals the sacred origin of this theocratic community.

But in addition to this evidence of descent, the fact that the presence of some of these priests at all of the most important religious functions and ceremonies in Igbo-land proper is considered indispensable, is additional evidence in respect of their origin. Thus in every instance when a

chief is about to assume the kingship of his community, he is obliged to have a representative from Nri, who becomes the master of all the necessary ceremonials; for without his presence the whole function becomes irregular, if not invalid.

In connexion with this specific ceremonial, it is also essential that the budding monarch should receive from the Nri priest certain requisite ornaments, without which the former is unable even to offer kola-nuts to the tribal gods. Further than this, the latter is allowed to have free access to the person of any king whose prerogative is practically an empty sound, so far as he is concerned.

Again, there are certain actions which, as being in native opinion inconsistent with the requirements of the earth, are regarded as serious offences. Whenever, therefore, any one belonging to a community commits an offence of this nature the rest of the people take alarm, because it is generally regarded as an upsetting of the order and harmony of things both in their spiritual and temporal affairs. At this juncture the Nri people step into the breach as peace-makers to effect a reconciliation between the offenders and the gods; for misconduct of this nature is always considered to be a crime against the land or a general pollution of the material earth.

The Nri theocracy, having intervened, at once presents certain essential objects as victims of purgation. In some cases the shedding of blood is absolutely necessary. This ceremony is invariably performed by a special representative from Nri, who, after he has performed the sacrifices at different shrines or centres belonging to the community, endeavours to allay the fears of its people by assuring them that the blood has become a sure and effective ransom.

But with regard to the sanctity of Nri origin, in addition to the evidence that has been brought forward, it is further believed that no religious rite is so striking or so effectual as that which is performed by these priests, who hold their office merely as a divine and sacred right. For by virtue of this priority, they are said to be in possession of

numerous attributes that have been imparted to them by their ancestors, and which are reserved for the use and purpose of the gods alone. Moreover, they have a special and peculiar method of utilizing or expressing these attributes. Indeed, their manner of conducting religious ceremonial, more especially with regard to touch, and to the way in which they handle the various emblems of worship, is considered to be not so much singularly delicate as a particularly practical and effective formula—facts which in themselves considerably accentuate the great regard and esteem in which they are held.

It is not within the province of this article to discuss the primeval origin of priestcraft, enveloped and lost as it has been in the impenetrable gloom and oblivion of the onward movement of time ; yet, hypothetical as it is bound to be, a glimpse into this period, which has gone never to return, will, at all events, furnish us with food for reflection.

Judging at least from the laws and customs which prevail among these Delta natives, with almost a greater amount of certainty than inference, there can be little, if any, doubt that originally the patriarch himself was priest as well as ruler of his own establishment ; but that later on, when he had established himself securely as medium and advocate with his own immediate spirit-father, he handed over the priestly office to his eldest son. This ancient custom is still to be seen in every household in Southern Nigeria, in which, while the first-born son represents the family in the flesh, his father, in virtue of his natural priority, is more closely associated with the family in the spirit ; for the first-born son, called "Okpara" in Ibo and "Akobi" in Yoruba, is considered sacred, and occupies during his father's lifetime the position of family priest. Thus it is that on account of this sacred office he breaks the kola-nuts, and distributes them to the guests or members present, and for the same reason pours out "tombo," or palm-wine, to all visitors. So, too, when household sacrifices are to be performed he always officiates,

especially on the death of his father, in cutting the throats of the victims, as well as in sprinkling the blood over certain emblems and persons; and, finally, because no family matter can be or is settled unless he is present.

The reason of this, as we have seen, is due to the sanctity, in their eyes, of primogeniture, which, as natural and divine, is a law unto them as being the direct result of an act that has been made with the concurrence and through the spiritual agency of the supreme God. This belief is in itself a sufficient cause to sanctify the person of the eldest son, but there are yet other reasons which, according to their ideas, mark him down as the spiritually selected representative of the household. Briefly these are:

1. That the first-born is considered to fully inherit all the virtues of his father, the vices not even being alluded to. This is a fact which, from the native standpoint, is most significant, for it most indubitably demonstrates the mentality of a nature which, although it sees, feels, and even lives double—*i.e.*, a human, or substantial, and a spiritual, or shadowy, existence—makes, in weighing up the actions of the individual father, a full and generous allowance for those inevitable ancestral decrees which have been predetermined beforehand, and looks on personal existence as a unity capable of disintegration or detachment, yet worthy only of fear and adoration in its former or unified capacity—a homage which is rendered with the object of forestalling or preventing the latter unfortunate divergence. Hence it is that the son, as one who in his person bears both the blessings and the curses of the gods alike, is invariably respected, yet feared at the same time, and that by virtue of this sacred office and position, he is given free access to every nook and corner of the entire establishment, as well as to the property and person of all members belonging to the household. It is on this account that his own person is esteemed as inviolable, and that no violence either by word or deed is offered to him; for an act of this appalling nature—so potential is the spirit and so inexorably vigorous



is its discipline—is certain to excite not only great consternation, but a disturbance in the domestic circle: not, be it observed, from fear of the individual himself, but from fear of the ancestral wrath that is to be incurred by an offence against him, because of the spirit precedents and privileges that centre in his person—in other words, of his associations and connexions with the dreaded spirit-fathers. But if, by any rare chance, a breach of the peace occurs, no means are neglected on the part of the others to effect an immediate reconciliation between him and the offender. It is here, as in almost every instance, that this inevitable fear of consequences—the ancestral react for some act omitted or committed—entirely and absolutely predominates over any ordinary fear which may exist in the direction of the human or animal, which, in comparison with the other, sinks not only into insignificance, but nothingness. For be the feature or the effect what it may, the exciting cause is invariably and always the same.

2. Again, it is generally believed that in his position as eldest son and spirit-specialist, he is thoroughly proficient with regard to the disposition and humours of the deities, as well as to the manner of approaching them, because, as having a greater, also a more direct and specific, access to the person of their common spirit-father than the rest of the family, he is in consequence better qualified to know more of the attributes, rites, and ceremonies by which they are to be lauded and worshipped.

3. By virtue of his office he acts not only as the general superintendent, but as the father of all the slaves—i.e., domestics belonging to the household—dealing with each individual if necessary in and to the fullest capacity of a father.

4. He invariably officiates on the occasion of all religious festivals.

5. Finally, at any meeting in which several families have assembled for social or other purposes, precedence is invariably given to all first-born sons in preference to chiefs.

of high rank, despite the fact of their wealth, their power, and their influence.

But although—to return once more to the question of origin—priestcraft subsequently expanded from the exclusively personal and household into the communal matter, it was unquestionably from the former that the priesthood of the latter first came into existence. It is this close relationship between the two that explains the reason why and how, even in the rudest condition of society, the priests have always not so much espoused the cause of, or sided with, the kings or rulers, as that they have belonged to them, relic as this was of that primitive social state when the head of the family or chief of the community had been, as it were, high-priest, and the eldest son the working or officiating member. For, when looked into, the whole question resolved itself, as one and all of these social and religious questions were bound to do, into one of a community of interests, a sinking of the one individual self into the persons and individualities of many selves. Yet it was a community which co-operated simply in a spiritual sense, and only when its mutual interests were in jeopardy, and threatened by an outside influence that was inimical and powerful—that necessitated combination as a countermove in order to avert a common danger or prevent a wholesale disaster. For in the ordinary course of events every household ruled itself, and went on its own way either rejoicing or sorrowing.

It is not surprising, therefore, that priests in all parts of the world, and during every part of human development, have exercised considerable—indeed, remarkable—influence, if not an absolute dominance, over the laity, wielding and making the most of, as they did, the spiritual supremacy; in consequence of which the simple rules of daily life and existence became to the people a legal code of all that was most sacred to them. So the father-priest, as the all-powerful fertilizer, and, as a more recent innovation, the mother-priestess, as the producer of his personality, in the

eldest son, were primarily honoured and revered, and subsequently became deified as the Father-God, the Mother-Goddess, and the Son-God. In the same way it has been among these natives of whom we are speaking, as it was among those ancient races, such, *e.g.*, as the Chaldeans and Egyptians, that the ordinary routine of their existence was so irretrievably mixed up with their religion that it was impossible to distinguish between the two. This, however, was due to the fact that the salient features of their routine was in reality their religion; because, although these were nothing more or less than what we now speak of as morality, this morality—which primarily consisted of sanitary and social laws that were not only essential, but preservative of the family or communal existence—was essentially and distinctly an outcome of certain personal privileges and exigencies, as these in their turn were an evolution pure and simple from those sentient and fundamental instincts, which formulated themselves into that personal element which is the religion of nature unadulterated, and therefore undefiled. For among a primitive or natural people morality is religion, and religion morality. The fact, therefore, that in all climes and at all times priests, acting as they have done as political advisers to their monarchs, have left their ruddy mark on religious history is easily explained. More than this, the invariable rule, as we see it among these natives, is to find the influence and power of priesthood on the side of conservatism—*i.e.*, of the patriarch or head of the community—and as this personal principle is so involved in the religion of natural people that it may rightly and justly be denominated as their religion, the situation explains itself.

Looking at the question from this standpoint, progress and advancement represent reform; and reform, apart from the fact of their extreme aversion to it, implies danger, if not destruction, to the cause of their fathers, as well as of the fathers themselves. So the power of the priestly craft was as necessary to uphold the rulers as that of the rulers was to maintain and protect the craft. In a few words, it

was but a mutual co-operation society, which combined together for purposes of defence, and offence, if necessary, and which was bound to each other by a compact that was not only solemn but personal and related; and, in fewer words still,\* it was merely a family bond and covenant.

In this way, too, following the bent of their own human inclinations—*i.e.*, along the destructive line, which to natural man was, as it still is, the line of least resistance—religion, or, to be more accurate, its priestly exponents, has been intimately connected with war: not simply because the priests have either mildly or blindly followed the people, but, on the contrary, in most instances, because they have led the way by exciting and inflaming the popular mind—which is so quickly excited and so easily swayed—to kill and slay in the sacred name, and in the more sacred cause of their governors in the spirit, whose commands they are bound to obey and execute.

## II.—AN OUTLINE OF IBO RELIGION.

In a case of this nature it is always advisable to go straight to the point or root of the matter, and the root of the matter in this instance is the Supreme God; for if one fact is certain in connexion with the Ibo religion, it is that the people believe in the existence of, and worship, the Creator and first great Father-God, by whom all things have been created, who is known generally as Tsi (Ci), Tsuku (Chuku), and “Olissa Ebulu Usa,” or other name, according to the locality and the dialect which is spoken. Indeed, this belief, irrespective of the tribe or locality, is universal throughout the Delta. What is more, this God of these so-called black barbarians, despised and down-trodden though they have been from time immemorial, is the same identical God as that of Jew or Gentile, who created the heaven and the earth and all that lives therein; but with this difference, that, while the latter begat a Son who is said to be the Saviour of the world, the Delta Deity begat

a son from whom has issued the human race. There is, however, another and a still greater difference, for, while the supreme gods of the others possess a distinct capacity for inflicting punishment—to put the mildest construction upon the severity of their natures, as depicted by the acts and measures of their own disciples—the Delta Creator, although he possesses the power of death, does not, as a rule, exercise it, and to his creatures, or rather children, he is capable of doing good only.

Indeed, strange though it may appear to the theologian or man of science, and although these natives believe in the spiritualism of Nature, practising demonology only in witchcraft, they believe as firmly as does the Christian, *e.g.*, that there is a Being who lives—it may be in the sky or it may be everywhere—that is the Father and the Master of all beings.

This Being not only has a separate name in each dialect or language, but almost every community, or even town, has its own individual name for him; and as such he is not only the Maker and Owner of all life that lives, but the first great Father of the human race. In every part of the Delta that I have been in the same idea prevails; for creation to these people represents the actual and specific act of reproduction, the animating or spiritual principle belonging to the Creator, whose mode of action or procedure, although a mystery altogether beyond their comprehension, bears a decided resemblance in its process to the ancient idea of immaculate conception, which is so common an event in Aryan mythology.

So we find, on examining the very meagre tradition of the Delta tribes, that in some such mysterious way the Creator—*i.e.*, the son of the Sky-God and Earth-Goddess—begat two sons, the elder a black man and the younger a white man, from whom the respective black and white races have sprung; and it is in this very primitive belief that it is so easy to trace all the subsequent ceremonials which have emanated from the one parent stem. For having first

of all found it necessary to revere his own immediate ancestor, and the principle which called him into existence, it was but the next natural step to trace that ancestor's descent in a direct line from the first great God, Father of all. Very naturally, the act of doing so at once placed mankind on a higher pedestal than the rest of Nature. Still, believing as they did that all creation was from the same source—*i.e.*, animated by the same vitalizing principle—the belief in transmigration also became an easy and a natural step—a portion of the process, in other words.

It is as well at this stage for me to explain that, cognizant as I was of the prevailing prejudice that exists even in the minds of leading ethnologists regarding this belief in a supreme God, during the period, extending over ten years, that I served in Southern Nigeria I took the most infinite pains and made every possible effort to inquire into and verify this question.

It is obvious that although the morality of these naturists is but a natural morality—*i.e.*, the morality which prevails in a state of nature—they are, in the strict and natural sense of the word, a truly and a deeply religious people. In a word, the religion of these natives is their existence, and their existence is their religion; for it is essentially a religion of substantial practice, and not of mere profession and theory.

Thus it is that they have practically put away the supreme God, the Being who creates and preserves—therefore in contradistinction to the destroyer, with his manifold and self-multiplying engines of destruction—the Power for Good; and that it is only on very special occasions of misfortune, when all else, including the ancestral deities, have failed them, that they call upon him, or, *vice versa*, that they thank him in time of unprecedented prosperity, and, in addition to this, hold an annual ceremony in his honour.

The reason of this avoidance, as it were, of the Supreme God is simple enough and easily explained; for it is but a recognition and an acknowledgment of his supremacy

and goodness, and of their own inferiority. From this standpoint, God being on a plane so much above them as to be absolutely unapproachable, they do not consider it necessary to do more than recognize his existence, acting as they do all throughout on the practical principle that they have nothing but goodness to expect from him. In other words, there being nothing to fear from him, no cause for fear existing in his direction, fear of him has no place or existence in their minds; so the ceremonial and formula of their religion is nothing but a mere exposition of ingratiating those spiritual influences which have within them the dual capacity of inflicting good or evil, and who, if not so ingratiated, human-like, are more capable of inflicting evil than good; or of those influences which, coming as they do within the domain of witchcraft or demonology, are altogether evil and malign.

Reducing these principles into plain facts, and having established this fact of God-supremacy beyond all question, it is next of all evident that there are between the Supreme God and humanity a certain more or less definite number of spiritual beings—local or communal deities—who live in trees, stones, rivers, mountains, and other natural phenomena, as well as in artificial objects of various kinds—in a few words, whose emblems are natural or artificial: deities who, although created and deputed by the Supreme, occupy an independent position with regard to the management and administration of human affairs, and, indeed, so far as these—inseparable as they are from the spiritual—are concerned, of the spiritual; every human community having its own community in spirit-land, which, although shorn of all materialism, as the vitalizing shadow of the substance is identical.

These deities, made as they are in man's own image, are, as a matter of course, anthropomorphic in form, consequently human or natural in their character, which means in plain English that they are capable both of good and evil; and having their own specific attributes and functions.

they immediately and specifically represent the varying interests of the various social elements. Known among the Efik and Ibibio as "Idems," they have priests, and in some instances priestesses, the latter of whom are consecrated from birth and always remain celibate, to make sacrifice and prayer to those particular gods to whom they have been dedicated. In spite of the fact that the Creator is seldom approached or referred to except in crises or under very exceptional emergencies, these departmental divinities are in popular estimation regarded as distinctly inferior to him in power and magnitude. Yet placing a purely human construction on the matter as the people do, and looking at it from the standpoint of a mentality which is eminently human, and in no sense either influenced or inspired by any outside or higher element, it is not in the least surprising that in some respects these inferior deities are deemed to occupy a position not only of considerably greater congeniality, but also of more immediate consequence, merely because of the fact of their association with the earth and of their connexion with humanity, which brings them into touch with the more substantial, therefore more enjoyable, pleasures of human existence.

This, in a word, is but a revelation, or, rather, reflection, of their own native character, which is naturally and pre-eminently sociable; for these people, on the whole, have no real love for solitude, believing, as they most implicitly do, that it is not good—in other words, natural—for man to be alone; that Nature, in fact, is so constituted by God that society or companionship is but the inevitable outcome.

If, then, we compare their thoughts with their actions, and in this practical way learn to comprehend their beliefs through a thorough and systematic knowledge of their practices, it is in no sense difficult to condense the principles contained therein into an exceedingly limited and compact compass. On these sensible lines, by consolidating the information and knowledge which have been



placed at my disposal with regard to their sociology, but more especially in connexion with the two main elements—the spiritualism and emblemism of their belief—certain facts at once become prominent. Thus, for example, that life or existence is a dual element or combination of the material and the spiritual; in other words, that the world as it appears to them is divided into these two main or principal phases, which in their turn are subdivided into the following units: (1) Human beings; (2) animal beings; (3) vegetal beings; (4) material beings—the three latter of various kinds and descriptions; the entire vitality of the material phase being due to the animation or inspiration of the spiritual or life-giving principle. It is also evident that, while for the most part the countless host of spiritual beings who divide their existence between this world and spirit-land are for the most part anthropomorphic, there are also in evidence a specific form of spirit of like kin, but varying in degree, which is confined to the animal, vegetal, and material elements. But while the spirit-essence of vegetal and material—also of the animal, except in specific cases and under certain conditions—is confined exclusively to its own species, the anthropomorphic spirit-essence is not only interchangeable with the zoomorphic, but possesses the ability to enter into matter of every sort, a characteristic that with regard to the latter is limited to human bodies only. From this extremely fundamental standpoint, beyond certain superficial differences which I will point out, there is no further classification of the spirit-element that I am aware of; nor, in fact, within such limitations as have been defined could this be either possible or probable. Spirits, then, are accordingly divided, first of all, into two main classes: (1) the embodied; (2) the disembodied, or, regarded from another standpoint, the ancestral and the non-ancestral; while these, again, may be subdivided into—(1) the ancestral embodied; (2) the non-ancestral embodied; (3) the ancestral disembodied; (4) the non-ancestral disembodied. In plain English, then, this means

that those who are ancestral are capable of good and evil, while those who are not ancestral are at all times inimical; all outcasts and disembodied being also, as a matter of course, malignant and vicious. For embodiment of the material is the distinguishing characteristic which divides the natural world of the Supreme God or Creative Power from the unnatural domain of the evil or destroying power, because this latter element, under an omnipotent cloak of disembodiment, is neither confined by limits nor regulated by balance of any kind.

It is quite obvious, then, that apart from all polemic or prejudice, these natives have a clear and distinct concept of God, whom they look upon as the Creator, by whose action the conception of all things human, animal, and vegetal takes place—the male and female energies of the various elements being nothing but mere agents or instruments in his hands. So, in continuation of this idea, it is also evident that the sun, moon, stars, rain, dew, lightning, thunder, and other natural phenomena, are likewise instruments created by him, into which he has infused his own animating spirit, in the same mysterious way that he has given to humanity that personal gift of reason which enables it to appreciate and express its appreciation of the various spiritual influences which surround it, as well as to discriminate between the positive and the negative, or what appeals to it as good and evil.

It is, in fact, on this natural basis that the religion of these natural people is founded and formed; for it is in their opinion, because of the expressive intelligence with which God the Creator has endowed mankind, that it has been enabled to frame a worship of propitiation and protection, as a set-off against the different malign influences which are ever so much stronger than it. And it is in this radical differentiation of the spirit-element that the entire crux of their beliefs and principles is centred; so the rest of creation, as being devoid of human reason, is a grade lower and further removed from the great and sublime

Supreme; yet as belonging to the one comprehensive but incomprehensible scheme of creation, none the less utilized by the spiritual as forms of material embodiments, which from a moral and mystic standpoint are essential as well as inevitable.

### III.—WITCHCRAFT AS IT IS PRACTISED IN SOUTHERN NIGERIA.

It now remains for us to examine the system which is known to these Ibo and other tribes as magic or witchcraft. It is quite as necessary to enter into this as fully as I have done the other issues that are essential to this inquiry, so as to make it yet more obvious that the ancestral religion of these people and their witchcraft still are, and always were, factors that have been not only distinct from, but diametrically opposed to, each other.

In this one word "witchcraft" is centred and concentrated, with all the devilish craft and subtlety that human nature is capable of, the demonology which is rife among these spirit-ridden people of dual existence.

It has been my object to make it perfectly clear to the reader that the animism or spiritualism of these natives is so intensely human—so inseparably bound up with this existence, in fact—that good and evil are merely the two main constituents of a single moral element, which react spiritually in response to certain specific human actions, the entire faith being based on an anthropomorphic or ancestral principle.

If I have succeeded in making this quite evident, it will then be all the easier to understand that in witchcraft we are confronted with only the evil aspect of Nature—with that aspect which is only capable of evil, and that does not admit of any opposing or counterbalancing element, such as good.

Here, in fact, we have the natives at their worst; and although witchcraft, in the popular sense of the word, is not

religion, if religion, as I would venture to define it, is an element derived from the natural instincts of suspicion and fear in one direction, and of confidence and veneration in another, then this thrice-accursed and devilish cult of demonology is in the truest sense of the word the religion, but only of those who practise it to serve their own inhuman ends, therefore religion which is absolutely and entirely on the destructive side. Apart from this consideration, however, so closely connected is it with their ordinary domestic life that, although a separate factor in itself, witchcraft is, in a broad sense, a unit—the evil unit of the anthropomorphic spiritualism, which dominates the body through the soul, and the soul through the body. So, irrespective of the household community or tribe, this cult of the diabolical is common all over Southern Nigeria, embracing as it does the inevitable and ubiquitous power of evil, and capable as it is not only of turning every human being in existence into witch or wizard, but of transforming the very material objects in Nature into living and destructive forces.

To do the natives in whose interests I am writing every justice, and at the same time to represent matters in their true light—the aim and object of this article—it is necessary to approach this subject with great circumspection. For, apart from every other consideration, this is a subject—teeming as it does with the complications and ramifications not alone of complex issues, but of all that is worst in human nature—which requires to be approached with a considerable degree of patience and research.

To start with magic: although recognized as existing, and practised, is not in any sense considered lawful or legitimate—*i.e.*, of ancestral origin and authority; for it is looked upon as outside the domain of even the evil, which is purely human, belonging as it does to those powers of Nature that work purely and entirely for all that is destructive, therefore evil.

It is possible, then, to recognize at the very outset two

prominent and important landmarks ; the first being the entire absence of the ancestral element, and the second the fact that the powers utilized by the exponents of magic are natural, and of the element that is evil pure and simple, in contradistinction to social harmony and that which is good. Consequently, the extreme penalty of death is inflicted on any person convicted of witchcraft, similarly as it was among the Jews, only in a different manner. For, irrespective of age and sex, witchcraft is a system that terrorizes a whole community, because its plots are hatched and all its deeds are done, at night, under cover of darkness and secrecy—a secrecy which is guarded with even greater care and jealousy, than Freemasonry ; because, too, wherever it exists, it does so as a deadly blight, causing unrest and discord, and wherever it alights desolation and death are in its infernal train.

Indeed, the mere thought of the accursed thing brings apprehension ; and the anticipation, casting as it does beforehand the shadow of approaching dissolution, is almost as much dreaded as the actual reality itself. But, although this is a sufficiently terrible horror, the grim horror itself, dropping, by means of its devilish machinery, the insidious venom unseen and unawares, and causing, as it always does, death and disruption in a house, is too hideous for contemplation.

To describe the hold that it has got upon these natives—to appreciate the terror with which it has inspired them—is practically to describe the indescribable. Yet, in spite of this, so inherent is suspicion, and so incongruous is their nature, that it seems impossible for them to utterly crush and eschew a system, although it brings upon them not merely all their woe, but a great proportion of the death which overtakes them. In this way, it is in reality difficult to realize the situation, even when one has lived among the people and witnessed, as I have done, the dire and deadly ravages that witchcraft makes among all ranks and classes.

As far as it is possible to see, the whole idea of the cult,

as it prevails in the minds of these natives, irrespective of tribe and locality, is based on the thought—which to them is even more than a reality—that any person who owes another a grudge can, and does, inflict mortal injury on that person. Acting, then, on this belief, which is an outcome of that inherent curse, suspicion, every misfortune or evil which overtakes the individual is at once attributed to this dread horror. So it happens that on the death of a king, chief, or influential and wealthy personage, the ever-ubiquitous and inevitable suspicion of foul play immediately presents itself. In a large household, consisting of several thousand members, as exists among the Jekri, Brassmen, New Calabar, Ubani, and Efik middlemen, in which the personal family alone may consist of many hundreds, it is not always an easy matter even to decide on whom suspicion is to fall.

In this way, the poison-test, or ordeal of the esere, or Calabar bean, or sass-wood, as it is found in vogue among these people, must have had its origin; for the belief is that the innocent alone escape, and only the guilty die; and as the death is attributed to a secret foe, all wives, head slaves, and even friends, are forced to establish their innocence in the usual way. Although this custom has, to a great extent, died out among the coast tribes, many instances—which, of course, occurred previous to the formation of a Protectorate—have been brought to my notice, in which as many as three and four score persons have succumbed out of the hundred or more victims who had been obliged to undergo the ordeal. When, for example, the famous Duke Ephraim of Duke Town died, in 1835, out of fifty of his entourage who were obliged to “chop-nut”—i.e., to drink a decoction of the esere or Calabar bean—over forty were known to have died.

Just to show how tenacious is the grip of this malignant influence, should suspicion rest on any particular members of a household, the head of which has just died, or should any circumstantial evidence exist, such as known dislike

towards deceased, the use of abusive or threatening language, or designs with regard to property, the test can be, and is, applied, in the case of previous failure, twice and even three times.

Let me now place before the reader, in the entire and original sense in which it was given to me, a statement regarding witchcraft as it exists among the Ibo—and, indeed, all the Delta tribes—which was made to me by one Ephraim Agha, an Ibo, of Onitsha.

“That sorcery exists all over the country with a force and terror that is all the greater because its deeds are done in secret, is more than true,” he says; “but that, notwithstanding the injuries and deaths which it inflicts upon the really innocent, the popular estimate of it is formulated on a false and hypothetical basis is also quite certain. What is still more certain is that this estimate is the outcome of lost hope and irretrievable despair—the final struggle, in fact, of afflicted spirits struggling, as it were, against the inevitable. It is far from my intention,” he continued, “here to assert that the practice of witchcraft is absolutely devoid of such nefarious contrivances as are distinctly detrimental to health and vigour of mind; but what I intend to convey is that its pretensions are fabulous and exaggerated. For, notwithstanding its evident possession of certain destructive engines, which by sleight-of-hand are dexterously administered into the human organism, many of its pretensions are physically impossible.

“The following, in popular estimation, are the principal ideas which prevail among the Ibo on this subject of deadly interest: According to this there are in existence in every community a combination of witches, who are organized for the sole object of perpetrating evil, or working mischief upon mankind in general. As regards the formation or movements of this combination no mystery could be more complete; for its secrets are guarded with the jealousy that only the impending fear of death can produce to perfection.

"It is said, by the way, that women are invariably members, and that men seldom join this diabolical society. One notable fact, however, in connexion with this opinion is that no woman is as a rule accused of witchcraft unless she is known to be sterile, or has passed the limit of procreation; the fact of the matter is that any woman is open to such an accusation as long as there is a masked buffoon to make a charge against her.

"The only tangible evidence of the existence of the combination is to be seen in the calamities and deaths that are of such frequent occurrence in every Ibo community, which can only in this way be explained.

"It is generally believed that the organization has at its head a chief who is an adept in the magic arts, and who, as such, exercises all the prerogatives, and wields the authority due to his rank. It is always a subject of doubt and dispute among the people as to the possibility of a man becoming a wizard. Men are generally exempted because they are initiated into the secrecy whereby it is established, and can better defend themselves than women, who are usually helpless and defenceless.

"Besides the special confederation of whom I have spoken, there are in existence other nightly assemblies, who are, however, considered harmless in the popular estimation. These, who are practically buffoons and dancers, go about the streets at night, masked, from house to house, with the sole object of receiving payment in kind for their dancing; and, except in cases where they are interfered with, or intruded on by members who are not initiated, they do no harm whatever.

"It is also a popular article of belief that members of the combination have a preternatural insight into everything, particularly disease, and that by means of this capacity they can subvert and countermand the natural order of things.

"When any individual is sick, it is the custom among the people to conceal very closely the nature of the sickness and the whereabouts of the invalid. These precautions are



taken solely to prevent interference on the part of witches, who, despite every effort, however, are reputed to become cognizant of all the facts ; so that in the event of death the cause of it is invariably attributed to them.

“ Sometimes it is usual to remove the patients to another locality in order to escape the clutches of the local society ; but even distance does not exempt them from the enchantments of these human demons, who are ubiquitous, and to whose spells no obstacle is impervious. Indeed, even natural phenomena, such as inundations caused by rivers and droughts, are also looked upon as coming within the sphere of their active operations.

“ There is, too, a belief among the people to the effect that witches are not the creation of God ; this being the reason given for his neither interfering with nor punishing them for their evil designs against his own children.

“ The supernatural power of witchcraft is said to be acquired by swallowing a vegetable and poisonous powder, which endows those who partake of it with the gift of second sight, that enables them to see what certain people are doing at a distance.

“ The members of the combination are, as I have already pointed out, under pain of death not to reveal the secrets of its origin, organization, and powers, and in return for this each member is individually endowed with supernatural powers of operation and metamorphosis. Most of the current information concerning the craft and its practices is purely traditional and presumptive, and must therefore be taken on trust. It is presumed that men and women in olden days, by making experiments in vegetables, medicines, and poisons, have unconsciously discovered the secrets of this miraculous power. This belief has led to a gross exaggeration of the power of a combination which is aimed principally at the opulent and powerful members of every community, whose deaths are sought on every available opportunity. Seeing that every human being is capable of evil, women, as being the weaker vessels, therefore

incapable of defending themselves against any attack on their character or persons, are, as a rule, fastened upon as witches. This, however, is a mistake, for although vindictive in their natures, they are all the same incapable of executing their desires without the assistance and co-operation of the male sex. No woman is accused of witchcraft without the full consent of her husband and her own family—*i.e.*, father, mother, and children, if she has got any. This gives her every opportunity of vindicating her innocence at the same time that it avoids a brawl or fight between the opposing factions. The people who in reality are the most dangerous, and all the more to be feared on that account, are those men who make a practice of dealing in medicines that ostensibly are harmless and inoffensive, but which in reality are virulent poisons; and it is generally admitted that no man will divulge the secrets of this deadly craft for fear of incurring the double vengeance of the witches and of the populace.

“The belief is also general that witches can, and do, change themselves into any kind of bird or animal, and it is not by any means an uncommon occurrence to come across persons who have seen the metamorphosis take place before their very eyes.

“Among a people who are naturally superstitious, to whom the ordinary operations or functions of Nature are incomprehensible, and who see either danger or death in every simple change of circumstance, no single occurrence can fail to have a cause attributed to it, and seven other causes to boot besides. By operation is meant that no distance is in itself sufficient to impede the spiritual progress of witches, and no barrier sufficiently impregnable to resist their spiritual force: thus not only can they pass through the smallest aperture or crack in a wall, but through the wall itself. This force or element, which they are able to project from their own organisms by virtue of a medicine, which is usually deposited in some earthen receptacle or calabash, is capable of inflicting bodily pain or harm on the victim.

"The power which enables these witches to project so much destructive force into space is supposed to be gathered by means of certain virtues extracted from the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, which are compounded into a powder and carefully kept concealed. Just as in other concerns of life, so concerning this secret craft, there is much exaggeration. 'Cowards,' according to a popular Ibo proverb, 'are accustomed when travelling from one place to another, especially during the night, to close their eyes lest they see anything disagreeable or evil befalling them;' for they do not consider that as a brave man dies so dies a coward, and so they die many times over in their minds before their actual death"—a saying which recalls Shakespeare's reflection that

"Cowards die many times before their death ;  
The valiant never taste of death but once."

"Thus it is that during a walk their imaginations become excited by fear, until every squirrel becomes an elephant, an insignificant piece of cloth a fiery serpent, and every dark corner an abode of diabolical demons.

"The above remarks are meant to demonstrate the prevailing ignorance and superstition of the real essence of witchcraft, which is nothing more or less than a specially organized and unique system of poisoning. There are, it appears, several methods by which this may be done. One of these is getting to the windward of the victim, and allowing the poisonous powder to float down upon the wind until it has effected its purpose, or to place it upon the ground over which he is obliged to pass daily or frequently. Another more certain method is to administer it in food or drink in the form of a slow poison, and with the connivance of an accomplice; while the popular illusion in ghostly phantoms which prevails has evidently originated in the practice that these poisoners have arranged—of waving lights about at night in the thick bush with such adroitness that they are said to be the heads of witches.

“Whether inside or outside their own circle, every member of this secret fraternity is by nature a cannibal, the victims selected being killed, as a rule, by means of the blood-sucking process, which operation is carried out either singly or jointly. This, which is generally considered to be the most favourite of their methods, is said to be accomplished so skilfully that although the victim operated on feels the pain, he is unable to perceive any visible or external result, which, notwithstanding, eventually proves fatal to his life.

“Another supposed operation, by means of which people are spirited away or detained against their will, is that of a species of hypnotism, which, however, is not mental, but supposed to be produced by means of the inevitable drug.

“Among themselves sorcerers are believed to entertain, also to accomplish, prodigies. Not only can the largest tree be transplanted from one place to another without the slightest effort, but turned upside down. During the performance of these miraculous feats horrible orgies are held, and on occasions their own children are ruthlessly sacrificed and eaten.

“Members of the combination are said, during their nightly peregrinations, to emit flame which is unquenchable from their heads, and the existence of which can in no way be accounted for. No words, in fact, can fully express the dense ignorance of the people. In reality, of course, the flame is generated by oil, with which other inflammable substances are mixed. These are mixed together and put into a clay pot, which is perforated with holes, and suspended on a pole or the branch of a tree, or carried about by strong, active young men, to enable them to see their way in the dark, so as to avoid pursuit.

“As far as my experience of witchcraft goes, there are three branches or sections, two of which are offensive or injurious, and one defensive or harmless.

“The first of these is called ‘Ogboma,’ which never loses an opportunity of poisoning members of a community

with a facility and secrecy that defies detection. The members of this fraternity clothe themselves inwardly with white and outwardly with black, and whenever they come into contact with the object of their fury they suddenly expose their inward form. This being pure white, startles the victim into a state of insensibility, and so enables them to carry their evil intentions into disastrous effect.

"The second class is called 'Amosu,' and applies practically to the witchcraft of the combination that I have described, which is merciless, and especially towards those by whom they have most benefited.

"The third, 'Amosu Ukawu,' is purely and simply a defensive measure, its poisons being procured and employed solely as antidotes against the diabolical machinations of the two former.

"In conclusion, every member of the combination is gifted with the power of stupefying the senses and intelligence of anyone outside its pale, which is done by means of the powerful medicine before alluded to; in fact, mere contact with a witch is said to produce the same effect.

"It is a saying among our wise men that 'the man is free from the influence of witches who has none in his own house.' Hence it is customary, before offering a visitor anything to eat or drink, for the host to first of all taste either victuals or liquor, in order to assure his guest of the sincerity of his intentions!"

In this, the concluding paragraph of Agha's valuable communication, we have not only the explanation of an old-time custom, but the key to a social enigma, without which, even with a thorough knowledge of human nature at our command, it would be otherwise quite inexplicable. For it is the rude and savage instincts of the animal—the violent antipathy, the vindictive passion of revenge, the "hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness," and, finally, in the lust for blood, at the root of which always lurks the insidious venom of suspicion, like a sleuth-hound with its nose on the trail—that, in the first instance, gave rise to a

craft which, if it could see its way clear, would suck dry the life-blood of the people. Knowing these as well as I do, what also is so plainly evident is that, apart from instincts and passions which are ineradicable, the patriarchal system is to a great extent responsible for the existence of witchcraft, creating, as it must of necessity do, so many opportunities—literally preparing the soil, in fact—for jealousies and rivalries. Thus it is that the social atmosphere of a Delta household is not only thick with concealed strife and spite, but alive with sprites, who, notwithstanding their supposed spirituality, are as full as they can be of all the lowest failings that human flesh is heir to. In a word, the ordinary household is nothing but a hotbed of evil passions, that underneath an outwardly calm surface is seething with mental visions and apparitions that readily take the shape and form of the devouring death-fiend—an arena in which, amid the war of conflicting interests that is always raging, the interests of self and of the witch-doctors are inevitably uppermost.

#### IV.—CONCLUDING REMARKS.

In case I have not made it sufficiently clear, it will be as well, perhaps, to define in the briefest of sketches the connexion, if any, which exists between the priests on the one hand and doctors and diviners on the other. That the power of the former is to some extent entailed or diminished by the influence of the latter there is not the slightest doubt; for although their offices are quite distinct and their ministrations lie in different directions, it is impossible in these communities to avoid interference or to prevent encroachment—poaching on one another's preserves, in fact—dealing as all three classes do with a spiritualism, outside the demonology of witchcraft, that in its essentials is practically identical, differing, in fact, merely in its external emblemism. Yet, in spite of this, the priests, in most of those places which so far have

not come within the influence of our administration, manage to divide the government of the communities with the kings and chiefs. Thus it happens that while, as a general rule, the doctors and diviners are more or less, if not entirely, a social evil, the priests in addition to this are a political factor, who have undoubtedly to be reckoned with. Not, however, that the medical and divining fraternity are mere ciphers in a country where witchcraft and intrigue are rife, but because the position they occupy is one of absolute isolation and independence, completely devoid as it is of all social and political significance. A position, I may say, which is much more in consonance with their professional character and the purely personal motive that imbues and impels it. From the absolutely native standpoint, in fact, doctors are priests and priests are doctors when spoken of in connexion with aches and medicines; but in a simply religious sense, in their relationship to the communal and family gods, only the Nri among the Ibo and all first-born sons—the Di-Okpara—and no others, are recognized as legitimate and officiating priests. What is more, no stranger, be he never so renowned in medicine, is allowed to officiate on any occasion or pretext whatsoever.

Reviewing the entire evidence which I have placed before the reader, it is obvious that the religion of these natives is an element quite apart from witchcraft, which was not created by the Supreme God, who neither punishes nor interferes with the people for the dreadful evils that are committed under its diabolical sway. Indeed, as in every sense consistent with this belief, if nothing else, it is at least significant that while medicines in their spiritual aspect take rank as preventive, curative, and protective spirits, and in some cases as deities, poisons are excluded from the category as being spiritual objects that are one with the cancer of witchcraft, therefore altogether outside the domain of the ordinary human and spiritual life. But, owing to the fact that poisons have to be considered and

tolerated, along with the doctors and diviners, as an inevitable curse, a specific medicine ranking as a household god is deemed necessary to keep off the spells of witchcraft. So, too, the spirits of disease, which are for the most part, if not entirely, evil, are not adored as gods, nor are sacrifices made to them in a divine sense, but only in that of propitiation—a most tremendously significant feature, demonstrating plainly and vigorously as it does that, brutal and ignorant as the people are from a civilized standpoint, the worship of their ancestors, which, as an evolution from Nature herself, is their natural religion, is an element outside and apart from demonology. For demonology, as they believe in and practise it, is altogether an outcome of that branch of human thought and desire which has been mentally, and so to speak deliberately, concentrated on the wrong side of the social balance, and put into practice with the object of consummating the destruction of all that is evil or good on the right side of the balance—in a word, the unnatural or all-destroying factor in humanity as opposed to the natural or dual element, which, although dual, is more on the side of construction; a concept which in principle is very similar, if not identical, to that which they believe to be the motive principle of suicide, which, although a seemingly deliberate act of the person, is regarded as due to obsession on the part of a unit of that detached power of evil which they can only express by the one and single term of witchcraft.

Placing the entire matter into a nutshell, this ancestor worship or naturism stands for the faith of these natives as a whole, while spiritualism and emblemism divide it into two phases—the former, as the internal or animating principle, giving it life and soul; the latter, as the external aspect, expressing itself in certain outward forms or emblems, which are simply material and substantial images embodying the invisible spirits, who to these natural people, however, are none the less real and exciting entities. For



this very essential principle of embodiment is to them the actual line of demarcation between the normal human spirit and the abnormal human demon—in other words, between the divided energies of “Good and Evil” and the indivisible unit of “Evil,” pure and unadulterated only. This being so, witchcraft—as an unnatural element outside the scope and potentialities of the Creator, with which, in fact, he is in no sense associated or responsible for—is a dread evil, and in consequence of this is also outside and apart from their religion, that as a natural matter is an ancestral heritage which has been received through their spirit-fathers direct from the Supreme God. This is, of course, as they profess or may have possibly taught themselves to regard the former cult. But although irrelevant to and distinctly independent of ancestral limitations, witchcraft is undoubtedly an inside revolt, and to some extent a combination against the social system and constituted authority on the part of certain unscrupulous persons who have been foiled, thwarted or prevented—and generally unsuccessful, in fact—in obtaining certain coveted positions or objects. More than this, it is a combination that, operating independently and in secret, yet in the unison of a common bond or sympathy, and which, utilizing as it has always done any little knowledge it may possess of natural means—such as poison, for example—has worked to the fullest possible extent and magnitude on the fears and superstitions of a spirit-ridden people, with such force and purpose as to evoke a grisly terror, the horror of which is all the more unspeakable and all the more indescribable because of the dread uncertainty and unexpectedness of its hidden operations.

Regarded, then, from this natural standpoint of the Ibo and other natives of Southern Nigeria—or, rather, from the analysis of it which I have given—there is no difficulty, as it appears to me, of tracing either the exact connexion that has always existed between magic and religion, or the very decided difference which has obtained between

professional magicians and priests. For, in the first place, there is no reason to doubt that the customs, laws and religion of these natives is any different to those which were practised by their ancestors at a period embracing anything between 2000 to 4000 years B.C.; indeed, an exhaustive investigation of their entire sociology in every way bears this out. And, in the second place, a comparison with the creeds that have existed among primitive races so far removed from them as, for example, the Japanese, Chinese, Polynesian, Shaman, Greeks, Aryans, and Egyptians, shows that there has been no radical or fundamental difference in the source and evolution of all natural religion.

It therefore seems to me that anthropology has to some extent gone astray in the direction of ancient myths; or, to be more precise, that it has given the preference to these instead of to the customs, laws, and religion of natural people such as are now in existence. This, however, is by no means all; for in those instances in which anthropology has attempted to probe natural sociology it has placed upon the latter, not merely a complexion, but an interpretation which has been practically civilized and European. Added to which is the fact that this conception has been formed from the outside aspect of themselves which is always presented to outsiders by a natural people, to whom the concealment of their inner life is a question as much of communal sanctity as of mere tradition.

## THE AVESTA AS THE DOCUMENT OF SUBJECTIVE RECOMPENSE.

BY PROFESSOR L. MILLS, D.D.

THAT any religious lore should be able to put forth a serious claim to such a doctrine as that of "subjective recompense" as its offspring, would of course place it in a very conspicuous position among the evolutions of religious sentiment and ideas. Very many doctrines, indeed, are of such a character that they must inevitably have arisen wherever man had sufficient imagination to dream of a future state, or, indeed, of a moral condition; but perhaps the very first thought of all others which marked the rise of man out of his savage, or, more accurately, out of his insane, condition, was the tardy conviction that virtue is its own reward and vice its own punishment. Fancy that poor demoniac state when such a concept was unheard of. Obtuseness was its only solace—nay, its salvation; for when a man thought that he was to be damned eternally for not having heard a statement, itself of a somewhat dubious character, it was time that something should occur to relieve him. But the Zend Avesta may fairly make this distinguished assertion, and say that it first pronounced this doctrine as a leading principle in its entire system, while, of course, like all other opinions of this or any other kind, it may be fished up here and there, as a curiosity, out of many a later scheme of philosophical, or, indeed, of merely fabulous religion. But first, before we cite its proofs, let us notice in a few words merely the Avesta Judgment in general, for its original, aside from the strictly subjective element, may indeed well have been even historically the identical original of those judgment-scenes in Daniel and the Revelation, while, on "parallel development," the analogies are most important, though Jewish genius has added splendour to the diction in many a touch. First let us glance at the general Gāthic Judgment.

(a) THE MAIN JUDGMENT IN TWO GATHA PASSAGES.

So in creation's birth I foremost saw Thee,  
Bounteous in vision, later things portend,  
When deeds, most just, rewarding and words, Thou gavest  
Ill to the evil, pure blessings to the good,  
By Thy just wisdom in this world's last end.

In which last changing Thou, a Spirit bounteous,  
Comest with Thy pure realm which wrong retrieves—  
By deeds of whom the settlements in right are furthered—  
Laws unto these to each devotion striveth,  
Laws of Thy wisdom which no man deceives.\*

So much for the Judgment in general in two only of several strophes. Perhaps, "unfortunately," we have in the Gathas our strongest case for the sadder subjectivity of *punishment* rather than for the deeply joyous one of the reward. But here we should not recoil from an interior value on account of its exterior repulsiveness. We have: "He who deceives the saint | for him shall at last be destruction; long life in the darkness his lot, vile his food, with revilings loathsome. | These be your world, O ye foul. By your deeds *your own souls will bring it*" (Y. xxxi. 21).

"Karps, yea, and Kavis are with foul kings joining, deeds which are evil with | man's better life to slay; cursed *by their souls and selves*, the being's nature, when from the Bridge they fall; the Judgment's pathway. Ever in Demon's home their bodies lie"† (Y. xlvi. 7).

(b) JUDGMENT IN THE LATER AVESTA.

In the later Avesta, at Vendidad xix., we have: "O Maker of the material worlds, Thou Holy One, where are the awards given? Where does the rewarding take place? Where is the awarding fulfilled? Whither do

\* Y. xliii. 5, 6—free translation. For verbatims see 2nd ed. "Gathas," 1900, pp. 4, 9, 10; see also S.B.E. xxxi., 1887.

† More literally, "the K. and K. will join, and with evil kings, with evil rites and deeds, to slay the human life; whom (their) own souls and their own conscience will shriek at when they come where the Judgment Bridge (extends); for ever—to all duration—their bodies (lie) in the Druj's abode."

men come for the reward which in their life in the material world they have made good for the soul?"

Some of the more dramatic features of the supernatural judicial scene which appear in our Holy Scriptures are, as I have said, absent from the Avesta, or, having once existed there, they have perished from it. Yet this is again made up by the extraordinary *subjectivity*, which is present everywhere; for, in answer to the questions placed above, the soul seems to judge itself, justifying or condemning itself in the same manner as we have just seen in the Gatha, though this occurs there, as said, only on the sadder side of the great Discrimination; but here, in Vendīdād and Yasht xxii., even pleasing dramatic features intervene, for it—the soul (Vend. xix. 115)—is met on the Chinvat Bridge, or at its entrance, by *its own counterpart*, and is questioned by an image representing its *conscience*.

#### A SCRIPTURAL SIMILITUDE.

Strange as it may seem to us, we have here a most interesting Scriptural analogy; for we have actually a parallel development with St. Matt. xxv. 35. We remember where our blessed Lord, "the Son of Man," not unlike Vohumanah, who also represented "the holy man," sits upon His throne; again like Vohumanah in Vend. xix., and addresses His redeemed in judgment: "Come, ye blessed of My Father . . . inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world . . . for . . . I was a stranger, and ye took me in," etc. (Matt. xxv. 35); but the very same good deed, in the very same connexion, is mentioned to the saved man in Avesta in that very scene where Vohumanah, the "good mind" and the "good man" presides (see below); and, as to the matter of essential thought, in a manner still superior to that depicted in the Gospel, for here in Avesta it is the believer's *own soul* which addresses him. While in St. Matthew, as we have it further on, the bewildered soul inquires with pleased if startled wonder, "When saw I thee . . . a stranger," etc.,

curiously enough we have here again the very same idea in what has been well called the "most exquisite passage" of Avesta, for, on its way to the Chinvat, the soul first meets a fragrant zephyr loaded with aromas of a better land; and it asks: "What is this fragrance which is the most rich which my nostrils have ever grasped?" Here is beyond all doubt the element of startled though gratified curiosity, as in St. Matthew. But this pleased wonder is again and more incisively expressed in the next scene immediately following, where the image is a holy maid who appears in the bloom of her beauty. The soul asks as before: "Who art thou, O maiden, who art the most beautiful whom my eyes have seen?"

And she, who is his *conscience*, answers: "I am verily, O youth, thy *conscience*, thy *good thoughts and words and deeds*, thy *very own*." But, curiously enough, like the saint in the Gospel, he is again not yet quite at once convinced, but asks: "Who hath desired thee hither with his love"—that is, who hath invited thee?—"coming with thy majesty, thy goodness, and thy beauty, triumphant and an enemy of grief?" And she answers: "It is *thou*, who hast loved me, and desired me hither, O youth, even thy good thoughts and words and deeds; for when *thou sawest* idol-worship thou didst desist . . . chanting the Gathas, and sacrificing to the good waters, and to Ahura Nazda's fire, *contenting*"—that is to say, *showing hospitality to*—"the righteous man" (*i.e.*, thy brother saint) "*who came to thee from near and from afar*."

Here we have "hospitality" beyond any question of a doubt, fully and emphatically expressed, while the words, "coming from near and from afar" might, indeed, refer to the pilgrims upon high festival occasions, doubtless referred to in Yasna xxx. 1, and xlv. 1; and so in Matt. xxv. we have, as cited above, "For I was a stranger, and ye took Me in. . . ." In the Gospel, however, it is not in the very forefront, while in Avesta it is the chief moral good deed there mentioned.

In either case, in both Gospel and Avesta the soul is pleasingly bewildered, needing explanation as before: "When saw I Thee a stranger?" in the Gospel, and in Avesta, "What is this fragrance?" and then, "What maiden art thou?" And then here once again, as if expostulating, "Who hath desired thee hither?" or, as I should now render, "Who hath invited thee hither?"

"It is thus," she continues, "through thy good thoughts and words, and deeds, and by contenting the saint who came to thee from afar" (see above) "that thou hast made me, who am lovely, still more lovely. I am beautiful and beautified, but thou hast made me still more beautiful and beautified. I am seated on a higher seat, and thou hast made me still more exalted through thy good thoughts and words and deeds." Totally aside from all possible and impossible literal connexion, we certainly see in each case the same hesitating doubt, with an equally affecting humility, and the same delighted satisfaction, and, most singular of all, from one of the self-same good deeds. It is from this on, as passing the Chinvat (Judge's) Bridge, that the soul goes toward Heaven, for it then proceeds upon its path towards the summit of Hara Berezaiti (High Mountain) the name still, or till a later period, surviving in "Elburz," at the south-west corner of the Caspian.

There the soul comes before the "golden throne" of Vohumanah (see the Gospel "throne of His glory"; see also "the golden thrones" of Revelation), and He (Vohumanah) who, as said, strangely enough, not only represents the "Holy Man," like the "Son of Man" in the Gospels (see above), but also at once the "Good *Mind* of God" and the "Good *Mind* of His saints" personified, recalling our doctrine of the divinity of Christ, who was both "God" and "man." He (Vohumanah) rises from His seat and greets the approaching saved man. One of the faithful beside Vohumanah, full of concern, asks Him: "When didst Thou come from that transitory world to this intransitory one? How long was Thy salvation?"

Here the passage, which is of course a mass of fragments, breaks, and we are left without the answer, though Ahura courteously intervenes with the remonstrance: "Ask him not of that cruel way. . . ." The soul then passes on "contented"—that is to say, "beatified"—to the golden throne of Ahura Mazda, and to the golden thrones of the Bountiful Immortals, even to Garodama, Heaven, the abode of sublimity, or song, on to the Immortals' and to Ahura's home, etc.

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P.S. *This Subjectivity in the Later Zoroastrianism.*—The above delineations of Avesta are continued on in the Bundahesh (say 500-700 A.D.) and in other works of the later Zoroastrianism, and, as might be expected, with little or no diminution in the subjectivity of the described occurrences, but in somewhat faded colours. On p. 122, Bundahish, S.B.E., we have: "Then is the assembly of Sadvastar, where all mankind will stand at this time."

"In that assembly every one sees his *own good deeds* and his *own evil deeds*, and a wicked} man becomes conspicuous as a white sheep (*sic*) among the black. Afterwards they sat the righteous man apart from the wicked, and then the righteous is for Heaven, and they cast the wicked to Hell." ("Take him and cast him away in outer darkness"—darkness being also a feature of the later Zoroastrian Hell.)

"As it says on that day, when the righteous man is parted from the wicked, the tears of every one thereupon run down into his legs; they weep, the righteous for the wicked, and the wicked for himself," etc.



## DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY IN BRITISH INDIA.\*

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My visit to England and my travels in Europe impressed me very forcibly with the necessity of improving the industries of my country. I was convinced that the only means of raising a country was to improve the condition of its artisan classes. How I gave effect to my ideas will be found in the following extract from a Calcutta newspaper, published about ten years ago: "At first he engaged a few men, watched how they worked, and when he had learnt their method of work, he set himself to introduce improvements, to cheapen labour, to secure finish, and make the out-turn fit in with the advanced ideas and requirements of the present time."

My experience has raised certain queries, certain doubts, certain difficulties. This paper has been written with a view to clear my difficulties, to remove my doubts, and not to give information to others or to criticize the doings of others. In some places remarks have been made in the form of suggestions, but this has been done to vary the monotony of questions.

Man has two elements in him—the spiritual and the physical. A well-balanced culture of the two elements is a proper equipment for the battle of life. But this object of Nature is in this, as in many other things, more often defeated than fulfilled. With individuals, as well as with nations, a culture of one element is often attained at the expense of the other. The culture of the spiritual element develops a religious disposition, which means a faith in superhuman agencies. The culture of the physical element, on the other hand, develops a faith in physical forces. In

\* For discussion on this paper, see report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

proportion as man's faith in superhuman agencies increases—in other words, in proportion as man becomes spiritually minded—the spirit of self-help declines. This explains the kismet of the Indian. Kismet is faith in fate.

In India the natural environments of life are calculated to stimulate the culture of the spiritual element in human nature. There Nature welcomes man with the smiling face of a kind, loving, and generous mother. The lovely sunshine, the green trees, the clear and blue sky, and the fertile fields, fill man's mind with a feeling of gratitude towards his Creator, and that is the first step in spiritual culture. The prominent part which religion plays in the everyday life of the Indian is due to the fact that in him the spiritual element predominates.

In England Nature frowned on man. The inclement weather, the roaring sea, the overcast heavens, all threatened to kill him. He soon learnt the necessity of waging war with Nature for his existence. Thus the physical element was developed in a higher degree.

The civilization of the two countries, India and England, was of two opposite types. This is reflected in the industries of the two countries.

The difference in the industrial wealth of England and India had its origin in the physical environments of life. "Fight Nature" and "Follow Nature" were the respective mottoes of the two countries in their industrial undertakings. I shall illustrate my meaning by a reference to the industrial product of the two countries on the line of footwear. The human foot is wider at the toes than at the heel. This is Nature's contrivance for safety in walking. This is true of animals as well. The Indian's footwear is wider at the toe to secure circulation of air between the toes. This is necessary in a warm country. This is true, perhaps, of all Oriental footwear, certainly of all shoes which were in use in India before the introduction of English-made shoes and boots. The Englishman's footwear is a fight with Nature. It is a contrivance to squeeze the toes, the result

being the overlapping of the toes due to pointed toes in the footwear. Thus the two nations started in opposite directions in the pursuit of industry, and every step along the line of progress took the one farther from the other. The industries of a nation, though originating with the needs of life, lead to æsthetic culture, and this again reacts on the industrial activities. The result is that the farther two nations advance in their native type of civilization, the less each is capable of sympathy for the other, the less chance there is of the two nations understanding each other. The sympathy and good feeling which existed between the Indians and Englishmen in the beginning of the nineteenth century did not exist about the middle of the century, and the feelings between the two nations now are not what they were twenty years ago. I am not referring to the Swadesshi movement in Bengal or the excitement over the partition of Bengal. They are local, and I believe it is only a storm which will clear the atmosphere of unhealthy air. I come from a province which has not been invaded by the Congress party. The people never agitated. I come from Orissa, which has been called the holy land of India. Here stands the Temple of Juggernath, the holiest of the holy temples of Hinduism, which attracts millions of pilgrims from every part of India. In 1804 "a deputation of venerable, white-robed Brahmins" invited the General commanding the detachment of British troops from Madras not only to occupy the province, but "begged that their temple, the religious key to the province, might be placed under the protection of the British." Accordingly, the Temple of Juggernath was managed by an Englishman—Mr. Collector Hunter—for some time. But when, in 1887, Government instituted a civil suit to deprive the Rajah of the office of superintendent, the whole of Hindu India was in a state of intense excitement. The authorities have no idea of the excitement the suit created. As I was the legal adviser of the Rajah, and was wholly responsible for the defence of the suit, I know, from communications made

to me, the bitter feelings the proceedings excited among all classes of people, the prince and peasant alike. If Government had not withdrawn the suit in deference to the remarks made by the Hon. Sir Comer Petheram, the then Chief Justice of Bengal, India would have once more been the scene of bloodshed and disorder.

The London *Times*, in its issue of April 27, 1897, referring to the injustice done to the landed proprietors of this province under British rule, wrote: "The request for the fulfilment of that promise is not made by political agitators who have done their utmost to strengthen the hands of the Government in all times of need." The difference in the attitude in 1804 and 1897 has its lessons for us all. The same is true of social matters. In the early part of the nineteenth century Mahommedan gentlemen of position used to receive the European officer on tour as their guest, and used to put him up. But such a thing is not possible in these days. Invitations from the Calcutta Government House during Warren Hastings' Governor-Generalship contained a note—"Ladies to bring their own hookas." Many European officials of high position used to have a retainer whose duty it was to fill the tobacco: he was called a hookabardar. But now the presence of a hooka alone (without any tobacco) in a railway-carriage is a guarantee against any European coming there. This feeling of disgust has developed with the development of the cigar and cigarette making industry in England. It has grown to such ridiculous dimensions that the Custom-office here will not allow one to have a few pounds of hooka tobacco, though he offers to pay the Custom dues.

A country's industry is regulated by its natural resources, and the skill of the artisan converting them to meet the necessities of life, or cater to the demands for luxury.

The expression "natural resources of a country" is very often limited to its natural products, but in the case of India the expression has a more extensive significance.

Owing to the existence of the caste system in India, each caste followed a particular line of industry. This had a remarkable effect on the senses and parts of the body used in the practice of any particular line of industry. In other words, the practice of a particular line of industry for generations amongst a particular section of the community produced a physical adaptability, which has an immense value in the commercial world.

This, I fear, needs illustration. The silversmith who produces fine filigree work begins his operation by bending a tiny piece of wire to a somewhat circular form. This he does by a twist of the left-hand thumb.

If you take a boy whose family had worked in this line for generations, though he might not have handled a piece of wire, he will bend the wire by this peculiar twist of his thumb within half an hour from his first attempt to do it.

If the same work were given to the best silversmith not trained to this work, he will not, even after months of strenuous effort, succeed in the operation.

The man in India who makes fine silver or gold wires (much finer than human hair) carries on the tip of his tongue a wire gauge. I have never seen any gauge to test the thinness of wires of the above description, and I believe Europe and America do not possess any gauge whereby the comparative thickness of fine wires, thinner than any human hair, can be gauged; but the Indian, who has been a wire-drawer for generations, can, by putting two pieces of such wires on his tongue, test their comparative thickness. These illustrations, I hope, will make my meaning clear.

The caste system was not an unmixed evil, and the physical adaptability to particular lines of industry is one of the richest legacies which the system has left to the nation. This I call a natural resource, and its commercial value cannot be overestimated when we remember it would take another nation generations to acquire this physical adaptability. Unfortunately, the value of this legacy has not yet

been appreciated by my countrymen. It has not been taken into account in the numerous projects for the improvement of industries which have within the last two years been before the public ; but is it wise or commercially profitable to us not to take this into account in our attempts to revive the dying industries of India, direct existing industries in new channels, or start new industries with a view to utilize the natural products of the country ? Should it not be our aim to run our industries on lines where this national wealth might be utilized ?

In considering whether the relation between England and India is helpful to the growth of industries in India, this difference in the temperament of the two nations should not be lost sight of. The other point of difference is the rule of corporate life in England, while India has not yet passed beyond the stage of individual life. Human nature passes through three stages of life. The individual, the family, and the community are the spheres in which the activities of man manifest themselves in his progress. In the child one sees nothing but the individual phase. The child is all selfish ; self-love predominates in childhood. The child claims everything it likes, without ever thinking of the rights of others. The child truly claims the world as its own. When the child grows up to be a man, and becomes a member of a family, having a wife and children, he begins to realize the importance of self-denial. This spirit of self-denial in many does not attain a higher stage than is found in family life, but in others it rises higher and produces the patriot and the philanthropist, whose life preaches to the world the noblest form of self-denial.

The existence of corporate life is absolutely necessary for the development of a country's industries. Individual efforts cannot do much. Without this corporate life, which is at the foundation of the numerous joint-stock companies of the West, England would not command her present position in the commercial world. But in India the nation never passed beyond the family life. The family life was

developed to an extent in which it is not to be seen in any other country of the world. I am inclined to think that this unusual extension of the sphere of family duties interfered with the advancement of the nation along the natural way which leads to the higher stages of corporate life. But whatever the reason, the fact remains that neither in the Hindu nor in the Mahommedan period of India's history is to be found any trace of bodies corporate working for the development of the country's industries. Thus, in the relation of the two countries, India and England, we find a union which resembles that of a child with a full-grown man. This fact raises the question, What should be the nature of the relation between the two countries so that their union might be commercially helpful to India's industries? Is competition desirable? Is commercial opposition wise?

The stage of life which a nation has attained at a particular time determines to a great extent its form of industry. This requires further elucidation, which I can do better by adopting illustrations. Let us take the case of the goldsmith in India and in England.

In India the goldsmith lived in a village, and worked for the villagers. Even now in villages away from towns and cities (where the handiwork of the European goldsmith has not found its way) he works for the residents of the village, as his ancestors had done. The villagers were the patrons and customers of his grandfather and father, and they are his customers. He has a responsibility, not only for the work done by him, but for work done by his father. With his father's customers he inherits his father's responsibility to the villagers. This is due to his plying his trade in a country where corporate life has not been developed.

In England we see a different state of things. Huge joint-stock companies stand between the customer and the goldsmith. The latter is relieved of all personal responsibility. He does not see the man for whom he works.

There is no relation of any kind between the artisan who makes a thing and the customer who eventually buys the thing. Consequently, viewed in the light of the difference in their position of life, the duty of the two may be described (adopting geometrical illustrations) thus :

The problem given to the Indian goldsmith is : " Describe a circle, an arch of the circle being given."

The problem before the English goldsmith is : " Describe any circle."

It is not difficult to say which of the two has to do the more difficult work.

To put this in plain language, the Indian goldsmith is required to work on the metal in such a way that its value will not deteriorate ; in other words, he is required to show embellishments of his art so far as the character of the metal permits. His personal responsibility is a check on his temptations to dishonesty. Relieved of all personal responsibility, the English goldsmith puts in alloy, which deteriorates the value of the metal, and does all he can to show the embellishments of his art with the minimum amount of labour. Such alloys as nine-carat and twelve-carat and even eighteen-carat gold are not known to this day to the goldsmiths in the remote villages of India. They cannot work on such alloys. On the contrary, the English goldsmith cannot work on pure gold. Very often Englishmen and Englishwomen do not believe (till it is demonstrated to them) that the fine filigree works in gold can be cleaned by putting them in bright charcoal fire. They fear that the thing would melt, not knowing that good gold stands a very high temperature.

The difference in the finish of jewellery of the two countries is due more to the quality of the metal used than to a difference in the tools used or the skill of the workmen.

An important question in connexion with the manufacture of gold and silver things is whether the type of ornamentation and finish which is possible only on a superior quality of the metal, and cannot be executed on



cheap alloys, should be allowed to be superseded entirely by the other type of ornamentation. This is where Swadesshi spirit can come in, but, unfortunately, my countrymen prefer things having European polish, though they know that polish is not possible without giving the metal a certain amount of hardness, which means alloy.

In the past the Indian artisan worked on the lines of personal responsibility. Organization for commercial purposes was unknown in India. Organized labour comes in at a later stage of a nation's history. That stage, I believe, as a nation, we have not yet reached. Our recent attempts to form joint-stock companies are traceable to a love of imitation which very often manifests itself in the attitude of man towards those whom he considers his superiors. The child imagines that he has attained his father's maturity and is quite able to undertake the responsibilities of his position. Most of our attempts to form joint-stock companies proved commercial failures, when conducted without the help of the organizing and managing experience of Europeans. British administration in India is associated with a decline of India's indigenous industries. It will be useful for practical purposes to see how this was brought about, without discussing as to who is to blame for it; for it is impossible in the adjustment of the responsibilities of nations to apportion to each their due share of blame or praise, and every attempt to do so brings about a misunderstanding by no means favourable to harmonious work in the future.

The caste system was a remarkable ancient fabric to form the basis of any system of commercial co-operation. Each caste had its head, whose orders were obeyed as willingly, perhaps more so, as are the orders of a commander in the battle-field.

This obedience to its head-man is still found among the lower castes, whom the influence of Western civilization and education has not reached. But those who have had

English education recognize no caste head-man. English education has introduced a disintegrating factor. It has furnished new foundations for the building of social structures. The caste system had an industrial foundation. In course of time this magnificent structure went slightly out of its plumb-line, and people thought it had no better foundation than food and drink. This erroneous interpretation is responsible for the exclusiveness of caste system. Such exclusiveness, when made the foundation of any institution, is sure to prove disastrous to the growth of a spirit of co-operation in a community. There is no excuse for making food and drink any part of the Hindu religion, for in the holiest shrine of the Hindus—the Temple of Juggernath—all castes eat together. I believe that this wonderful religious institution, which enshrines a Buddhist god in it, and yet is considered the holiest shrine of Hinduism, was meant to destroy the idea of exclusiveness with which Hinduism was associated in popular belief. The caste system was a wonderful fabric whereon to build co-operative institutions for the development of indigenous industries; but its organizing force has been not only wholly neglected, but we educated men (in which I include myself during a greater part of my life) have done everything in our power to destroy it.

In the infant stage of a nation, when its industry is worked on the lines of individual responsibility, the patronage of the Sovereign and of the nobility is absolutely necessary. An industry, like an infant, must be fed and nursed by foster-parents if its natural parents will not do their duties. The parents feed the child, and yet, if the child grows up to be an important person, whose life sheds beneficence on the nation, the nation claims the man. The parents who nursed the child are lost sight of.

Milton and Shakespeare belong to the English nation. How few know the names of their parents! These men owed very little to the nation during their lifetime. Most men whose discoveries and inventions have contributed

materially to England's present commercial prosperity died little better than beggars.

Our foreign rulers have not done anything to recognize merit among the artisan classes. People who write a few lines of poetry or do their duty as officials are decorated with honours and titles, but who ever thinks of any official recognition of exceptional merit in an artisan ?

The result is that the children of the artisan, who were born with a physical adaptability for their ancestral occupation, prefer to become clerks and schoolmasters, where they are considered respectable people.

This neglect of the artisan classes is inconsistent with the official resolutions for industrial improvement in India. I brought this inconsistency to the notice of the late Sir John Woodburn, when he was Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, pointing out that, so long as the heads of Government would not condescend to receive an address of welcome from the artisan classes, and thus give them the pleasure of handing over their handiwork of a casket to the local representative of their Emperor, it was absurd to hope that people would care for a means of livelihood held in such social contempt. Sir John Woodburn admitted the force of my remark, and he visited my school of industry in August, 1902, where he received an address from the workmen. I quote here an account of the ceremony from the *Calcutta Statesman*, dated August 27, 1902 :

“ The workmen of the Orissa Art Wares presented an address in Oriya, written upon palm-leaf, artistically ornamented, and contained in a silver casket of excellent make, and bearing the figure in miniature of Bhubaneswas Temple. They expressed their sincere gratitude to Sir John Woodburn for his kind condescension to receive their address, and their hope for help and encouragement at the hands of the Government.

“ His Honour made a kind and sympathetic reply. He wished to say that, of all the presents he had received, he considered that of these humble and poor workmen

the most precious. As he would hold his office for only a few months longer, he was not in a position to do anything that would elevate them to wealth and eminence, but he would never forget to make honourable mention of their case to his successor. He would talk to the Viceroy about the matter, and hoped that after him other people in authority might visit the institution and show their sympathy.

"His Honour then went round and inspected each article manufactured by the workmen, and observed with great care and interest their manner of working, of drawing out wires, of setting stones, etc., and handled their simple tools and appliances, to the intense delight of the workmen."

It was Sir John Woodburn's intention to inaugurate a suitable title for meritorious artisans after his visit to the Delhi Durbar, where he expected to see the handiwork of the best Indian artisans; but it pleased God to remove him to the happy abodes in heaven a few weeks before the Delhi Durbar, and the project fell through, and I fear for ever.

Though born as a high-caste Hindu, I consider myself an adopted member of the artisan classes. I feel for them.

The temples, mosques, and other works of architecture which testify to the past glory of India, and which have been admired and recognized as marks of an ancient civilization, are the handiwork of the Indian artisan. The artisan has introduced us to the West as a glorious nation, and yet what has been *my* conduct towards him? I don't like to say anything about my other countrymen, but I do not feel ashamed to confess the wrong I have done to the artisan class of my country. I hope no other educated man of my country has been guilty of such disgraceful conduct, and consequently my feelings of shame and disgrace will not be a source of pain to any of my countrymen, but they might interest some solitary young man who wishes to avoid disappointment in his endeavours to improve his country's industries.

Exhibitions have been a prominent feature of the industrial awakening, but exhibitions serve the purpose of advertisement. They open the door to the import of foreign articles, but do they educate the Indian artisan in any sense? Do they help the Indian artisan to ply his trade with a larger profit? These and a few other questions on the same line should guide us in formulating the plan of our exhibitions. The presence of foreign artisans working on the exhibition grounds might be more expensive, but it will be of practical benefit to the artisan.

Indigenous industries must aim at adapting the natural products of the country to the demands of life. The industries of no two countries are alike, because the natural products of no two countries are the same. You cannot grow cane in England, and consequently other stuffs must pass commercially as cane.

The present industrial awakening in India is a fit opportunity to develop new industries, but not to imitate those of other countries. We have in us too much of the spirit of imitation; we imitate to a ridiculous extent. To give an illustration: In India horses used to have long hair on their tails. This was necessary in a country where the animal is troubled with flies and mosquitoes; but when they found that in England horses had short tails, they adopted the fashion without taking into account the difference in the life of the animal in the two countries. The present national zeal, as I have said, for industrial development should be directed in new channels. The development of new industries means immense loss in the experimental stage. The new industry must be fed during its infancy, without its foster-father expecting anything in return. Even if people were willing to bear the loss of the experimental stage, the experiment, to be successful, must be entrusted to men who can put their head, heart, and hand to the work. Our educated young men might have heart and head, but the hand is the most important of the three. This is the exclusive heritage of the artisan.

But the son of the artisan, when inoculated with the serum of English education, develops a feverish desire to work as a clerk or take any occupation but that of his father. A foreign Government cannot be expected to know the strong points in our national character. The physical adaptability for a particular industry, which is the legacy of the caste system, is not likely to be valued by a nation where heredity does not regulate a man's occupation or business in life.

Government has sanctioned scholarships tenable in Europe with a view to benefit the industries of India by the services of Indians trained abroad. Public enterprise has, within the last two years, also done a great deal in this direction. But we must not lose sight of the fact that the industries of Europe are worked on lines totally unsuited to the present state of things in India. In Europe the industries are worked on an extensive scale by organized bodies and consolidated capital. This, as I have said in another part of this paper, does not exist in India. To make myself clear, I shall make remarks with reference to a particular industry. Take the case of the leather industry. Both the Government and private gentlemen have recently directed their attention to this particular industry. But this industry is carried on on a very extensive scale here; the quality of the hide is different, and machinery replaces manual labour. Skilled labour is in requisition for working the machines, and even here there is a division of labour, for a man used to working one machine is of no use when put on another. What I have called division with reference to the distribution of skilled labour is really a subdivision. For the leather industry has (so far as I have been able to learn in India) several major divisions. There is the tanning, currying, dyeing, dressing, and shoe or boot making. The shoemaker in the Indian village combines all these branches of industry in him. Education in England of this industry by a graduate, who knows nothing of the industry as it exists in his country, cannot be of much practical use to him in improving the industry

in his country, though it might be useful in introducing a revolution which will leave the natural products of the country, now used for tanning, to lie waste, and the village shoemaker will be added to the list of discontented labourers out of employ. It will not be out of place to mention that the gentlemen who learnt agriculture here as Government scholars are employed as magistrates. They were trained to help the poor ryot in improving his circumstances, but they are employed in sending people to gaol or to hang them.

The result of this will be that the actual products will, in the near future, be utilized by the enterprising foreigner, and the village shoemaker, thrown out of employ by the industrial revolution, will be a nightmare to the head of Government, just as the unemployed weaver now is. The great mistake committed by Government is the neglect of the artisan classes, and here a marked difference between a foreign and home Government is visible to the observer who cares to look below the surface of things.

Industry flourished in ancient times because of the encouragement and substantial patronage accorded to the artisan by the Hindu and Mahommedan Sovereigns. The artisan who excelled in his art had access to his Sovereign ; he received grants of land, titles of honour, and decorations from his Sovereign. But he is left in the cold under the present foreign rule. The Viceroy, the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, very often admire the casket more than the address it contains, but they employ a constable at 6 rupees a month to keep the artisan who designed and made the casket out of the premises, and the august recipient of his handiwork expresses his thanks to the divisional commissioner, or the municipal commissioner, who does not understand anything of the workmanship.

The Indian National Congress commands the confidence of a very large number of people. I do not take any part in the national movement, but I believe the institution could do much to revive, to keep up, and develop the

indigenous industries if it undertook practical work. I have said elsewhere in this paper that our difficulty in the adoption of the lines on which the industries of Europe are run is the absence of organization. This want the National Congress could very well remove. A strong committee of business men, appointed for the revival of dying industries and the development of the new ones, might, with the influence of delegates, raise funds for the formation of joint-stock companies. A sum of money might be raised by each delegate in his district, and the amount announced at the next sitting of the Congress. The total amount raised in each year throughout India might be apportioned to the revival, maintenance, or development of such industry whereof the needs in the shape of tools and appliances the sum raised was sufficient to meet.

The present industrial awakening in India resembles the first attempt of a convalescent to walk after a long bedridden condition. The condition requires great watchfulness and prudent guidance at the hands of the patient's friends. When the patient is seriously ill, and no signs of recovery are visible, he is entirely in the hands of the doctor, but the responsibility of his dear ones and friends arises with the appearance of convalescence. The present industrial awakening is liable to strain the energies of the nation, just as the convalescent is liable to bring on ruinous exhaustion by overexertion. The great thing to be aimed at in the present state is to consolidate the nation's financial resources and energies with a view to centralize the several branches of industry in requisition at present. This the Indian National Congress could do if it worked on the right lines.

My humble suggestions were first made to the Congress leader in Calcutta more than twelve years ago, and they were repeated several times, but unfortunately the Congress does not like to go beyond resolutions.

The connexion between England and India was the meeting of two civilizations of opposite types. Had the



meeting been of a purely commercial character, the parties would have met on terms of equality, but the political dependence of India on England necessarily gave the latter an advantageous position even in the field of commerce. It is not my purpose to refer to Custom duties and taxation and other matters which have been dealt with by abler men. I look at the question from the artisan's point of view. England undertook the education of India, not only in the schoolrooms, but by her commerce. Education by commerce is far more effective, and certainly spreads its influence over a wider area, than education through books and lectures in the schoolrooms. The industrial products of a country read eloquent lectures on the ideas of comfort, life—ideas of colour, symmetry of proportions, and beauty to all nations who use them. England's commerce with India has changed the Indian's notions on these essentials which guide the artisan in supplying the demands of the public. True, Swadesshism is not possible. It is not possible to denude our mind of notions on these points which we have learnt from England. It is not possible for the most eloquent preacher of Swadesshism to put on Indian shoes wide at the toes. The best attempts in this line have produced the Nagra shoe with pointed toes, thus proving the impossibility of denuding our mind of notions we got from England. Swadesshism in the sense of a return to India's old mind is impossible. It is impossible for the man educated in England to like the colours which his ancestors liked. True Swadesshism should aim at utilizing the waste products of the country, to cultivate in the nation the spirit of give-and-take in commercial matters, to consider the connexion between England and India one which has been ordained by God with a view to work the well-being of the two nations, and with sacred feelings of duty, such as is due to Divine command, to work out the happiness of the two nations. If my countrymen look at the situation in the above light, they will not associate patriotism with ill-feelings towards other nations. Patriotism

is a sacred feeling. It aims at raising one's own country, and does not wish ill of others. True patriotism must command respect of all nations. If, on the other hand, Englishmen realize their duty to India, and set about doing their duty with sacred feelings, they will begin to see below the surface of the present unrest. Deeper insight will show that the educated Indian cannot and will not desire a termination of the British rule ; he cannot wish it any more than he can wish to return to old notions of beauty, colour, symmetry, and comforts of life. Let us not increase the misunderstanding between the two nations. Let us all remember the last words of that great man whose statue stands in Trafalgar Square—"Thank God, I have done my duty."

## THE YUNAN EXPEDITION OF 1875, AND THE CHEEFOO CONVENTION.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF COLONEL (NOW GENERAL)  
HORACE A. BROWNE.

(*Concluded from p. 150, July, 1907.*)

IN November Mr. Wade, in acknowledgment of his services, was made a K.C.B. The news of this reward was received with derision rather than with approval by the Anglo-Chinese community, as represented by the local press. Sir Thomas Wade, it is said, has obtained nothing from the Chinese but empty promises, which will be broken on the first opportunity.

In thus depreciating the really great achievements of Sir T. Wade methinks the press shows some want of perspicacity as well as a great deal of ingratitude. It does not appear to perceive that Sir T. Wade, in conducting the case of "*India versus China, re Yunan*," has so managed matters that the damages obtained from the defendant are of such a nature as to benefit, not the plaintiff, but a third party which had nothing to do with the original complaint, such third party being the Anglo-Chinese community. Surely for this some thanks are due. If anyone had a right to grumble it would be the Indian Government, because Sir T. Wade has pursued on its behalf a policy which, as he himself admits, is certain to end in failure.

As to the probability of the Chinese breaking their promises, is it likely that Sir T. Wade, who by his dogged perseverance has wrung these promises from them, will in such a case do nothing further and quietly let them have their way? He has already written that "the time is come when the Chinese must be made distinctly to understand that if they trifle with us in this case severe chastisement will be inflicted. Their long habituation to the near approach of danger has confirmed them in their constitutional immobility and their faith in 'luck.' The

tone of our newspaper articles and speeches, which even when they discover a determination to exact what is due to us, scarcely ever fail to enlarge upon our consideration for China, our interests in the country, and our consequent unwillingness to strike, produce among the Chinese but one effect."

In December Sir T. Wade discovered that one Seh Huan, a man known for his anti-foreign proclivities, had been secretly appointed to be an assistant judge in the Yunan affair, and that Ts'en yu-ying, the Viceroy, was also to take part in the inquiry. He therefore wrote to the Chinese Government, saying: "Ts'en is himself one of the parties accused of misconduct. It is something new that a man in such a position should be joined with his judges to report upon his own case." But the Chinese naturally failed to see the incongruity of the arrangement.

On December 9 there appeared in the *Pekin Gazette* a decree, purporting to be based upon a report received from Li-Han-Chang, stating that the notables of Momien, having heard that foreigners with soldiers were about to enter their country, assembled a large number of train-bands for their protection. On Margary's return no notice was given to the authorities, in consequence of which certain lawless savages took advantage of the occasion to commit robbery and murder. As the sub-Prefect Wu-ki-liang and the General Tsiang failed in their duty in not preventing this, they are provisionally stripped of their rank, and will be brought to trial.

In January the Chinese Government informed Sir T. Wade that the savages who murdered Margary had been captured after a severe fight by General Tsiang and Li-sieh-tai. A detailed account of the battle is given, but it has every appearance of being a cock-and-bull story. Doubtless some unfortunate wretches have been captured, but no one versed in the mysteries of Chinese procedure will believe that they had anything to do with the crime of which they are accused.

On January 24 there appeared another decree, the

wording of which is so involved and obscure that the translator admits himself unable to render it into intelligible English. The gist of it appears to be that Li-hsieh-tai, here called Li-cheng-kwo, though he was not present at the attack upon me, is suspected of complicity with the notables who collected train-bands. He is therefore degraded and will be arraigned with the sub-Prefect and General. This is a curious and unexpected move. What can be the cause of it? If there exists such a sentiment as political gratitude in China, Li should be the last man to be deserted by his Government, for he alone of all the frontier officials never ceased to struggle against the Panthay rebels. We know, too, that he cannot be directly responsible for the attack upon us, as he was absent at the time. One can only make conjectures which may be wide of the mark, but I suspect that our constant harping upon his supposed misdeeds had some effect. Li was the only Chinese frontier official with whose name and status we were accurately acquainted. Owing to his having, in his capacity of a loyal Chinese officer, objected to our expedition of 1867, entering into relations with those in rebellion against his liege lord, the members of that expedition dubbed him "bandit," "ruffian," etc. But that, instead of being a bandit, Li is a suave and polite Chinese officer, the evidence of Margary and Elias, the only two Europeans who have been in contact with him, plainly shows. But the evil reputation then given has stuck to him, and the Chinese having found out that he is our *bête noire*, have thought it politic to sacrifice this little victim to appease our wrath. In the end he will always be able to prove an alibi.

In January Sir T. Wade intimated to the Home Government that a naval demonstration in Chinese waters would much facilitate his negotiations, and a squadron of four cruisers was ordered to go to his assistance. What a pity that this measure was not adopted earlier!

In February Sir T. Wade had an interesting conversa-

tion with Hsu-Chien-Sheng, the junior envoy designate to England. Though nominated in August the embassy has not yet left, as it is awaiting the result of the inquiry in Yunan. This official, whose relations with his superior, Kwo, are not very cordial (which is probably the reason of his being attached to him), doubts whether the Yunan affair will ever be cleared up. "There is one man," he says, "who could tell all about it, but he won't, and that is Ts'en the Viceroy." And he is to be one of the judges in the case! The inference to be drawn from this is that, in the opinion of the Ambassador, it was Ts'en himself who ordered our destruction. Here the story ends. We are in a period of calm, and further developments can be expected only when Grosvenor's report is received, and so the curtain drops on another act of the affair.

LONDON, *July*, 1876.—I have seen Grosvenor and read his reports. As expected the so-called "trial" at Yunan-tsen was a veritable burlesque of justice. But there was one incident as unexpected as it was painful. That the Chinese would gravely present a number of innocent "substitutes" for the real criminals was not to be doubted, but that they would have the supreme impudence to include among these vicarious victims one of my own followers, MOUNG YO, my Yunan interpreter, was unexpected. This audacious stroke fairly took my breath away when I read of it.

Grosvenor's party, after a four and a half months' journey, arrived at Yunan-tsen on March 6, well satisfied with the attention paid them on the way. On the eighth they had their first interview with Li-Han-Chang and Ts'en-yu-ling (called by Grosvenor Ts'en-Kung-pao). The description given of the latter is not flattering. He is not a pure Chinese, being descended from a Miaou-tsu family, and is said to be much disliked on account of his bad temper. The Chinese then presented their official version of the affair, the result of the diligent inquiries they had made. This bill of indictment commenced with profuse apologies

and expressions of the deepest regret that such an accident should have occurred. Even before the arrival of Li-Han-Chang, they said, the guilty parties had been arrested, but that official judged it necessary to suspend from their functions the sub-Prefect Wu-li-ssu and the General Chiang. The actual murderers of Margary turn out to be wild men, robbers by profession. Now who was the originator of the opposition to Colonel Browne? Strangely enough we discovered that it was the very person mentioned by Sir T. Wade—viz., Li-Cheng-Kwo! We were unwilling to believe that a person of his condition could be implicated, but inquiry left no doubt as to his culpability, though he refuses to confess. The Momien gentry feared that the Mohammedan rebels who had escaped to the hills would come back with Colonel Browne, so they applied to Li Cheng-Kwo to arrange with the foreigners not to allow the rebels to accompany them. Margary was killed by the robbers and not by the men who hindered Colonel Browne with the intention of stopping him, but not of hurting or plundering him. Colonel Browne, having sent forward his linguist Li (Moung Yo) and Shih-yu-tien (Allen's writer), they too were captured, but the latter managed to escape (he was in fact murdered). Li was bound and carried to a cave, from which he managed to escape to Momien. This man is a distant kinsman of Li-Cheng-Kwo. On receiving the Imperial command Ts'en the Governor sent a force, which killed six of the robbers and captured twelve. So the criminals have been captured, the instigator, Li-Cheng-Kwo, is in custody, and a part of the plundered property has been recovered. The linguist Li also is under arrest. The force which attacked Colonel Browne, about 2,000 strong, was composed of wild men, Mohammedan rebels, and Shans sent by Li-Cheng-Kwo, who, however, was not there.

This mendacious indictment was accompanied by a mass of documents, rubbish for the most part, but in a heap there were subsequently discovered two letters which the

Chinese must have overlooked, or the importance of which they had stupidly failed to see. One was a letter from a militia captain at Momien, addressed to Li-hsieh-tai, and asking him to return to put himself at the head of the train-bands assembled to oppose the foreigners. The other was Li's answer, declining the invitation and remarking that what was proposed "was no light matter." By producing these letters the Chinese themselves inadvertently furnished an effectual proof of the falsity of their statement that Li was the originator of the attack upon me.

The "solemn trial" of the accused took place on March 20. The High Commissioners, sent from Peking, did not appear, and the bench was composed of six inferior Chinese magistrates. Grosvenor, being ignorant of Chinese, also stayed away. Baber and Davenport attended to watch the case. At first they were placed in such a position that they could neither hear nor see anything, but on their protesting, a better place was assigned to them.

The accused were eleven wild men, the sub-Prefect Wu-ki-liang, the General Chiang, Li-hsieh-tai, and Moungh Yo. No witnesses were called, and the proceedings consisted simply of an examination of the accused. The savages, who from their names I suspect were neither Kakhyengs nor Shans, were examined through an interpreter. All admitted (according to the interpreter) that they took part in the murder of Margary and his attendants.

On these statements Messrs. Baber and Davenport remark:

"It was evident the wild people did not realize their situation, and understood the linguist with difficulty. The linguist would say a few words to the prisoners, which they scarcely seemed to understand, or at any rate did not answer with more than half a dozen words, and then give a long reply. The linguist appeared to suggest replies to the prisoners, or asked leading questions, which they acknowledged with a careless growl. Their demeanour was anything but that of criminals who had confessed a capital offence. Seated on their haunches on the floor of



the court, they gazed on the assemblage with an air of complacent and comfortable satisfaction. One of the savages was said by the Chinese to have been wounded by Margary, but on the question being put to him, he denied having been wounded at all with so convincing an air of disdain that the linguist had no option but to reply to the same effect."

The sub-Prefect and General knew nothing about the affair or the instigators of it. The General had had much trouble in catching the offenders. In the fight with them he had suffered a loss of fifty men and three officers killed!

Li-Cheng-kwo, having been absent, knew nothing.

Moung Yo made a long statement about himself, his sufferings, and his lost property, but he would not admit that "he had ever heard who had stopped Colonel Browne." This under the circumstances was a necessary falsehood. To have told the truth would have cost him his life.

My surprise on hearing of the unfortunate predicament in which Moung Yo was placed was almost equalled by that which I felt on ascertaining that no attempt was made by Grosvenor's party to extricate the poor fellow from his perilous position. It was known to them that Moung Yo was a trustworthy servant of mine, that he had left all his property in our hands, and that he was a British subject who could claim our protection; but no effort was made to rescue him. Not only for his own sake, but in our interest also, his liberation was of the greatest importance; for, as Grosvenor himself states, he is the man who could give the most valuable evidence about the whole affair. I do not think Moung Yo would have ventured to say much in Yunnan; he must have been too thoroughly frightened for that; but once out of the reach of the Mandarins, the store of information he had acquired during his captivity would be a very treasure-house of evidence.

The explanation of this abandonment of Moung Yo is

that it was thought safer for himself to appear to take no interest in him. I suspect, too, that in the interest of Grosvenor's party it was thought prudent to abstain from demanding Moungh Yo's liberation. Its safety might have been compromised by a serious difference of opinion with Ts'en. It would not have been safe to make any sensational discoveries, implicating all the officials from Ts'en downwards. A popular *démence* would be easy to get up, and in this remote corner of the Empire no one could be made responsible for it.

The farce of the trial having been concluded, Grosvenor had an interview with the High Commissioner, Li-Han Chang, to whom he said: "Let me warn you solemnly that Her Majesty's Government will never accept such a statement as you now put forward as the truth." Grosvenor then wrote to Sir T. Wade: "The whole story, as at present set forth by the Chinese, is but a repetition of the one you so summarily rejected in July, 1875. Not a single witness has been produced; and not a soul concerned in the attack on Colonel Browne (if I except the eleven savages in custody), although Ting Taotai admits the attacking party to have been nearly 2,000 strong. Such a burlesque of a trial, notwithstanding your earnest and repeated warnings on the subject, leads me to the conviction either that the Chinese Government does not believe Great Britain to be in earnest, or else that it does not fear her power to enforce her demands."

There being nothing more to do in Yunan, Grosvenor departed; but instead of retracing his steps through China, he took the route through Momien and Manwaing, at which latter place he was met by a military force of 300 men, sent from India to escort him. The ease with which this force marched through the Kakhyeng hills, and the cordiality of its reception by the people of Manwaing, speak volumes in favour of my rejected scheme of sending the commission of inquiry under a British escort to this place. As it was, in his hurried passage through, though the

Chinese did their best to bridle the tongues of the people, Grosvenor obtained far more information than he had at Yunan.

He identified the spot at which Margary was murdered, regarding which even, without any apparent object, the Chinese had lied. As Margary's body had been thrown into the river, this could not be recovered. Margary's murder and the attack upon the rest of us were the work of the soldiers or Momien militia, who were called out by a central committee which had its office in the sub-Prefect's Yamen. One of the captains was a man named Yang, the same who was designated by the Burmans as Yoon; another leader was Hsiaou Hung. This is the man who led the attack upon us, and whose name was transmogrified by the Burmans into Shouk-goon. He, too, is one of the men who murdered Margary. Even the Chinese General who escorted Grosvenor admitted that this man was responsible for Margary's death. Another curious detail about this man is that, at the trial at Yunan, he acted as interpreter for the savages, and so, by an ironical arrangement which only a Celestial mind could devise, the murderer of Margary was actually before the court which tried the case, only he was there as interpreter, and not as one of the accused! Thus was demonstrated to the people the clever way in which the Mandarins know how to befool the simple foreign devil.

The unfortunate savages who were tried were not even inhabitants of the Manwaing district. They were amber-sellers from the North, who were seized at haphazard in the Sanda market. The general belief was that the Governor Ts'en wished to murder Margary when he passed through Yunan, but he did not then dare to do so on account of his orders from Peking.

All that Grosvenor learnt proved the correctness of the information obtained by me more than a year ago.

It goes without saying that the militia captains at Momien acted, if not by the orders, at any rate with the assent, of

the sub-Prefect and General at that place, and no one will believe that these officials would have acted as they did without the authorization of the Governor Ts'en. Sir T. Wade writes: "Ts'en is represented to be the most ruthlessly severe official that ever trampled out a rebellion. His subordinates tremble at his word. That the sub-Prefect of Momien should have ventured to act as he did without instructions from Ts'en is simply incredible."

The question then arises: Must we look still higher in the official hierarchy for the real originators of the outrages? Did the Pekin Government, when issuing the passports, send secret instructions to prevent our entering China? Here we have no facts to go upon, and can only form hypotheses which may be more or less well founded. On this point Sir T. Wade says: "I doubt extremely that, truculent and ferocious as Ts'en is represented to be, he would himself have dared, after receiving the Yamen's letter, to allow the safety of the mission to be compromised had he not received an order from the Central Government that it should be withstood or destroyed, or been assured that its destruction would not be viewed with displeasure at head-quarters."

The readiness with which the passports were given is now looked upon with suspicion by Sir T. Wade. They would not have been issued so promptly, he thinks, had not measures been taken at the same time to counteract them.

The conspicuous failure of the Grosvenor mission was no surprise for Sir T. Wade. He, at least, had never been under the delusion that (as stated in the Queen's speech) "the inquiry would be so conducted as to lead to the discovery and punishment of the offenders." As soon as he received Grosvenor's report and a mendacious report from the Chinese, he wrote on May 16 last: "All the blame of the murder is sought to be laid on the savages, and they try to prove that the attack on Colonel Browne was solely instigated by Li, the gentry of the district having been alarmed by Colonel Browne's arrival. All the higher

officials and gentry would thus be exonerated. I cannot accept this story with the other evidence in my hands. The paper contains contradictions and falsehoods. I have made a protest against the punishment of Li, or the execution of the savages. I add that I do not any longer demand the punishment of the provincial authorities. I fix the whole responsibility on the Central Government, and demand such reparation as will in the future better secure foreign relations. Judicial satisfaction is unattainable."

Thus Sir T. Wade has been compelled to admit that in the matter of the inquiry the Chinese have beaten him. He abandons this point altogether, and will use the tragic incident of Yunan simply as a stock on which to graft matters of a different nature, regarding which he will engage in another diplomatic duel with the Chinese. He has commenced by threatening to withdraw the legation if the lying report of the High Commissioner is published in the *Pekin Gazette*, for the contents of this gazette are like the laws of the Medes and Persians, and must be reverently acquiesced in by all the world.

We must wait to see whether Sir T. Wade will have better luck this time.

*November, 1876.*—The Yunan expedition has been on the tapis so long without producing any strikingly new developments that the public enthusiasm about it has died out. As the chances of its becoming a *casus belli* diminished, so also did the public interest in it.

At Chifu, on September 13 last, it appears to have been finally laid at rest.

After the mock trial fiasco at Yunan, Sir T. Wade remained some months at Peking, pressing for the fulfilment of all the promises which had been made. He demanded also that the Governor Ts'en should be called to Peking for examination. This was evaded by Ts'en retiring temporarily into private life to mourn for the loss of a stepmother, according to the custom which requires officials to vacate

their posts when they are smitten with a domestic calamity. Whether the stepmother was a real or mythical personage we know not.

At length, Sir T. Wade's patience being exhausted, he left Peking and retired to Chifu, preparatory to breaking off all relations. This step, together with the presence of a threatening naval force on the coast, brought the Chinese to their senses, and Li-Hung-Chang was nominated as High Minister Plenipotentiary to meet Sir T. Wade, and come to an agreement with him.

The result of their deliberations was the Chifu Convention, signed on the above date. By this convention it is agreed that a proclamation, approved by Sir T. Wade, shall be posted up throughout the Empire, blaming the Yunan outrage, and warning officials and others to be more careful in future, and to pay attention to foreign treaties; no one, except the sub-Prefect and General at Momien, shall be punished for the Yunan outrage; the Chinese Government shall pay an indemnity of 200,000 taels (£60,000), of which 150,000 is on account of the Yunan expedition; an Imperial letter of apology and regret will be written and sent by a Chinese mission to England; Consular officers may be stationed in Yunan; the Viceroy of India may send another expedition; several towns are added to the list of open ports; if the English Government sends a mission to Thibet, passports and protection will be granted; foreign officials in China shall be treated with the same regard as is shown to them in other countries; British officers shall be present at the investigation of crimes affecting British subjects; cases in which British subjects are accused shall be tried by British officers according to British law; steamers shall be allowed to touch at certain places which are not open ports; the Likin tax shall not be levied in foreign concessions; Likin tax shall be paid upon opium; the Hong Kong and Canton trade shall be placed on a better footing, etc.

With the exception of the one point which the Home

Government has always insisted on as the most essential—viz., the discovery and punishment of the offender—Sir T. Wade appears to have extorted from the Chinese all the reparation that is possible for the Yunan outrage. In effect no one receives any punishment. The sub-Prefect and General at Momien are indeed removed from their posts, but it will be strange if they are not shortly provided with better ones. In return for thus passing the sponge over the Yunan affair, the Chinese grant many important concessions which have no connection with it. The object of the expedition—the opening out of the Burma-China trade route—has not advanced a step, but Sir T. Wade has attained the object which he had in view from the very first. Looked at from an Indian standpoint, the Chifu Convention, the child of the Yunan expedition, is meagre and disappointing, but from an Imperial point of view Sir T. Wade is to be congratulated on the brilliancy of his success. The Indian Government has to content itself with receiving a sum which may or may not cover its expenses in the matter. The issue of the proclamation is a useful step, but I am surprised that Sir T. Wade has permitted it to contain a reiteration of the fable that Margary's murder was the work of irresponsible savages. The permission to send a Consul to Talifu is of no great value at present, so far as India is concerned, for, as we have no Chinese scholars on our side the person appointed must perforce be one of the Chinese Consular Service, who will see everything through Hong-Kong-Shanghai spectacles, and the Anglo-Chinese on the east coast look with no great favour on the establishment of trade relations between Burma and Western China. It is time that the Indian Government encouraged the study of Chinese on our side.

As for sending another expedition to Yunan, I think that the Viceroy, who will look at the matter from an Indian point of view, is hardly likely to deem the results of the last expedition to be such as to encourage him to repeat the experiment.

RANGOON, *June* 10, 1877.—It was with infinite surprise and pleasure that I hailed the appearance before me this morning of my Yunan interpreter Mounng Yo, escaped at last from his long captivity, looking thin and careworn from all the trials he had undergone, but blandly smiling and supremely happy at his safe return. I had his statement recorded, and this is the gist of it :

“ The last I saw of the expedition party was on February 21, 1875, when Colonel Browne and his escort left the Tsarai Tsawbwa's house to return to the camp, and I remained behind to convey a letter to Mr. Margary at Manwaing. I was soon afterwards joined by Ship-yu-tien, Mr. Allen's writer, who had lost his way and missed the returning party. The chief was civil and polite, and in the evening we induced him and two of his followers to accompany us to Manwaing. Before starting the chief took my gun from me, on the pretence that he could use it better than I, which was very likely true. When about half-way we met two other Tsawbwas, NOUNG-GAW and Tset-tee, and the Tsarai chief sent us on ahead, saying he wished to talk to these two men. As he did not rejoin us and night was coming on, we retraced our steps and got back to Tsarai, where the Tsawbwas had already arrived. The Tset-tee man then fired off my gun and plundered myself and Ship-yu-tien of all we possessed—ponies, bedding, clothes, and arms—and put us under a guard. The NOUNG-GAW and his men then went off in the direction of the camp. We were confined for the night in the Tsarai's house, where there were about seventy men, who cooked an enormous quantity of rice and then most of them left carrying the rice. During the night I heard a continual tramp, as if large bodies of men were passing going in the direction of our camp. I begged the chief and his wife to release me, but they said that though I had nothing to fear from the Kakhyengs, they dare not release me lest the Chinese should punish them. All night long men were going and coming, but no one would tell me what was happening. ‘ You will know to-morrow,’



they said, and at daylight the chief said : 'Do you know who were passing last night? It was the Chinese going to fight and kill all your people.' I again begged to be released, saying, 'Let us two have our liberty and get a chance of escaping through the jungle.' He refused, but promised to speak on our behalf when the Chinese returned. During the day Kakhyengs kept running in to get powder and bullets, and in the afternoon Chinese and Kakhyengs straggled into the village, some wounded, and some with all their hair, eyebrows, and eyelashes burnt off. They were blaming one another for the loss of the battle, and so I learnt that our party had been attacked and had driven off its assailants. Before sundown two of the Momien headmen, Lin-hsiaou-hung (Shoukgoon in Burmese) and Whang-pin-chon, who had led the Chinamen in the fight, came to the Tsawbwa's house. We prostrated ourselves before them and prayed for our liberty. They kicked us and ordered us to be bound. We were tied up where I could not hear distinctly everything that was said, but I heard these two blame the others for their failure. 'How could we withstand the stormlike hail of bullets and the jungle fire?' they replied. Many questions were asked as to whether any English had been killed. Some said 'yes' and some 'no.'

"The next morning a Chinaman who had lost two brothers in the fight, came weeping into the house, and seeing us bound, fired his musket at us, but the bullet passed under my arm into the wall. On their reckoning up their losses, they found that six Chinese and four Kakhyengs had been killed, and three Chinese mortally wounded, but several others were unaccounted for.

"The relatives of the Kakhyengs who had been killed demanded compensation from the Tsawbwa, and he referred them to the Chinese. Ultimately it was agreed that two viss of silver (Rs. 264) should be paid for each Kakhyeng killed.

"The attacking party had left Momien 500 strong, and they were joined on the way by as many more

Chinese, Shans and Kakhyengs, so it amounted to about 1,000 men.

"In the evening I and Ship-yu-tien were taken to Man-waing. We were bound neck to neck, and our arms were tied behind our backs. We were taken to the Shan monastery, and later on the headmen came to examine us. I told them that the expedition had come with passports from the Emperor, bringing plenty of presents and not to fight. It consisted of only five Englishmen and fifteen policemen for protection against the Kakhyengs. Wang-pin-chon beat me with a stick, saying: 'You are English and are telling lies.' The Shan priest then interfered, saying: 'If you are going to punish these men, do it elsewhere, and do not desecrate my monastery. They then removed us to the Chinese temple, where I was hoisted up to a beam by a rope passed under my armpits. As I adhered to my statement they lowered me, put my feet in the stocks and again hoisted me. I hung doubled up, with my face downwards. As I would not say that the English had come with cannon to fight, I was left there till my arms became dislocated. I became senseless, and remained so till the next day, when I found myself lying on the floor. They gave me some rice, but I could not eat, my arms being useless. In the evening Whang-pin-chon came to examine Ship-yu-tien. He said he had come by sea with his master under orders from Peking. As they got nothing out of him, they beat him and left us under the guard of two men, who chained us by the neck to posts. Thus we remained for some days. The Shan priest brought us food, clothing, and straw, but most of this was appropriated by the guards.

"At last a relative of mine took courage to come and see me. He told me that a bribe to the headmen might procure our liberty. I got him to write to my mother at Momien, and also to go to the headmen, now in Momien. There were four of these headmen, Lin-hsiaou-hung, Whang-pin-chon, Shoon-loon, and Liu-see-lwai, all Momien men, and the last from the same village as myself. It was

agreed that my life should be spared on payment of Rs. 300.

"On April 20 Ship-yu-tien was sent for to be examined by Whang-pin-chon. The guard took him away, and I never saw him again. In an hour three men came, their hands covered with blood, and threw down Ship-yu-tien's pigtail, trousers, and shoes, and told me they had killed him, and it was my turn now. They were tying me up when my relative rushed in and said that Whang-pin-chon had ordered that I was not to be killed. They then left me to go to Whang-pin-chon. Three days afterwards a relative arrived from Momien and paid the Rs. 300. A doctor, sent by my mother, also came to attend to my dislocated arms, which were so useless that I could not feed myself. I was still kept for about four months chained to a post. During this time there was a serious dispute between the Shans and Chinese, the former alleging that their monastery had been desecrated by Mr. Margary's writer having been murdered there; but a report having come that the English were about to make war on China, this matter was dropped. I first heard of Mr. Margary's murder when I was being taken from Tsari to Manwaing. The Chinese pointed out a place in a paddy-field as the spot where it was committed.

"At length, after my mother had paid Rs. 500 to the Governor of Momien, I was sent from Mahwaing to Momien. Before leaving Manwaing I was cautioned to be silent as to what had occurred there. After four days' march we reached Momien, where I repeated before the Governor my statement as to the pacific nature of the expedition, and I was then released with permission to reside at my mother's, on giving sureties in the sum of Rs. 50,000 not to return to Burma. The Governor afterwards sent a message to say that I was not to show myself in the town, as he had reported officially that all Mr. Margary's followers, including myself, had been killed.

As I was very ill in consequence of the torture I had undergone, I could not go out.

"About a month after my release a famous General, Yantha-ye, came with 2,000 men to take away the Governor Wu-ki-liang, the General Chiang, and Li-hsieh-tai to Yunan-tsen. The last could not be found, and did not come in until his brothers were seized. He then went to Manwaing, and returned with Mr. Margary's effects, pony, etc., and thirty Kakhyeng prisoners. Of these fifteen were selected on account of their ignorance of Chinese to be sent to Yunan. At Li-hsieh-tai's urgent request I accompanied him to Yunan-tsen. Five days' march beyond Talifu it was found that three of the Kakhyengs understood Chinese, so they were at once put to death. Li-hsieh-tai wished me to testify that when the fight occurred he was a long way off with Mr. Elias. I told him that all I could say was that he was not at Tsarai or Manwaing when I was there. Soon after arriving at Yunan I was informed by the officials that I should have to state that the Kakhyeng prisoners were the murderers of Mr. Margary. I declined to do so, so they said: 'You are a dependent of the English and a liar; if you do not speak as we order you will be killed.' Two days afterwards Tsen the Viceroy said to me: 'We shall now state that you and the Kakhyengs murdered Margary, and you must sign a statement to that effect.' On my friends advising me that this was the only way of saving my life I signed.

"A month after this the High Commissioner, Li-Han-Chang, arrived, and then both I and Li-hsieh-tai were thrown into prison. I was brought several times before the High Commissioner, who asked me what reason I had for hating the English and for murdering Margary. To save my life I had to acquiesce in the assumption that I was the murderer.

"As the English Commissioners were expected, we had rehearsals of the trial which was to take place before them. These rehearsals were so frequent that I know them by

heart. Hsiaou-hung, the man who had charge of me at Manwaing, was appointed interpreter. I don't think he knew much of the language. This is a specimen of the examination :

"Question by Commissioner : Why do you hate the English so that you murdered Margary ?

"Question as put by interpreter : Do you cultivate paddy, or what, in your fields ?

"Answer as given by interpreter : The English are always taking other people's lands, so we hated them and killed Margary.

"Q. by Commissioner : How many men of Margary's party were killed ?

"Q. by interpreter : How many bullocks have you ? Hold up fingers to show the number.

"(Five fingers are held up.)

"A. by interpreter : Five persons were killed.

"Q. by Commissioners : Did you kill them by gunshot, spear, or sword ?

"Q. by interpreter : With what do you fell trees ? and show how you strike them.

"(The Kakhyengs now showed the action of felling trees.)

"A. by interpreter : We did not use guns or spears ; we cut them with swords.

"At this time I and Li-hsieh-tai were kept in separate prisons. As I learnt afterwards, he once sent a letter to me saying that the best plan would be for me to tell the truth to the English Commissioners, and he would give the names of all the officials responsible, from the Governor downwards.

"Unfortunately this letter reached the Governor Tsen's hands and was wellnigh undoing us. It was ordered that I was to have poison in my medicine. I was informed of this afterwards by the man who was to have poisoned me and whose heart failed him at the last moment. Li was to be blown up in his prison, but he had a strong party in the

city and was kept informed of all that was going on. When they began to dig under his prison he made such a row that the work was stopped. It was the fear of a rising on the part of Li's adherents that saved us. The men told off to kill us were bastinadoed for their faint-heartedness, but they preferred that to running the risk of incurring the vengeance of Li's party.

"The officials were quite convinced that I spoke English, and nothing would persuade them of the contrary. They were afraid, therefore, of my holding communication with the English Commissioners when they arrived; and Tsen the Governor said: 'If Moungh Yo reveals anything, he and Li must be killed; and we will kill also the English Commissioners. We may as well have a double as a single murder to answer for.'

"When the English Commissioners arrived my heart shrunk within me on finding that neither Colonel Browne nor anyone who spoke Burmese was with them. To tell the truth to them in Chinese, of course, would have cost me my life. About a week after their arrival the trial commenced, and all we prisoners were produced before them. The others were not examined in my presence, but I heard that the rehearsed programme was adhered to. In fear of death, I was forced to let it be understood that I was one of the murderers. I never got an opportunity of saying a word of truth. I was taken back to prison, and the English Commissioners left for Talifu. Some days afterwards I and the Kakhyengs had again to sign our statements. The latter did so by inking the palms of their hands and making an impression of the whole of the hand on the paper. I was then informed that no final decision would be arrived at until the English and Chinese Governments had been referred to. But in the meantime I was not to be made away with, lest the English should make another complaint. I was still kept in confinement, but in August I became so ill that I was released on security. On November 19 final orders came from

Pekin. Wu-ki-liang, the Governor of Momien, Tsiang, the General, and Li-hsieh-tai, were to be dismissed from their appointments, and I and the Kakhyengs were to be released. I was so ill that I could not leave Yunan till December. At Talifu I met the dismissed Governor, Wu-ki-liang, and paid my respects to him. He said: 'I am now no one and am a poor man, but take these two pieces of silver and go on your way.' I replied that I could not take his money, and was only too thankful to have escaped with my life.

"In the meantime I found there had been a revolution in Momien. Of the 2,000 men brought there to arrest Li-hsieh-tai 1,000 had been left behind, and as they could get no pay they mutinied and seized the city. Troops came from Yunan, and after some months' fighting, during which 5,000 people were killed, the city was retaken. The heads of four leading mutineers and four barrels of ears were sent to Yukan as tokens of victory. During the siege the fifteen Kakhyengs (out of the thirty arrested for Margary's murder) who had been left there were all killed.

"The Governor (Wu-ki-liang's successor) was banished to Thibet for maladministration, and the General committed suicide to escape a similar fate.

"When I reached Momien I received a letter from a friend at Yunan, Sai-tai-lai, who had been very kind to me there, saying that he was appointed Governor of Momien, so I waited for him there, and on his arrival stayed with him for some time.

"Whilst at Momien I made inquiries about Mr. Margary's murder, and found that Hsiaou-hung (the man who had guarded me and acted as Kakhyeng interpreter at Yunan) was one of the actual murderers, but that all the officials were responsible.

"On Mr. Margary's passage through Yunan, the Viceroy Ts'en ordered the Governor of Talifu to kill him. The Talifu man, being afraid of taking the responsibility of such a step, passed him on in haste to Yung-chang-fu with

similar orders to the Governor there. He, however, again passed him on to Momien. All of them shirked the responsibility. When Mr. Margary had passed out of Yunan the General and the headmen (Hu-shing and Yang-quang being the chiefs) of Momien plotted with Li-hsieh-tai to destroy the whole expedition. To avoid responsibility this was to be done in Kakhyeng territory, but the Tsarai Tsawbwa objected to this taking place in his district, so the attack was made before the expedition reached Tsarai.

"When a General came from Yunan to arrest Li-hsieh-tai, Hu-shing, fearing to be compromised, fled from Momien, and did not return till I came back there.

"Though the new Governor of Momien treated me like a son, I longed to get back to Burma to my family, so he gave me money and an escort of twenty men to accompany me to Manwaing. After visiting the Shan priest there, and thanking him for his kindness to me whilst I was a prisoner there, I joined a caravan going to Bhamo. I avoided the Tsarai route, as I feared that the Kakhyengs, if they had heard that I had accused their countrymen of murder, might take vengeance on me.

"After an absence of two and a half years, the greater part of which I spent in prison, I have had the happiness of rejoining my family."

This simple narrative of Moungh Yo's adventures and hairbreadth escapes from death is interesting and instructive, and throws new light on some of the incidents of the expedition.

The apparently pusillanimous abandonment of Moungh Yo by the Grosvenor mission at Yunan turns out, after all, to have been the most prudent course which could have been adopted. The ruthless Satrap Tsen, who had slaughtered in cold blood thousands and tens of thousands of Panthays, many of them innocent women and children, would not have hesitated to dispose in a similar manner of a small batch of "foreign devils" who had become



possessed of compromising secrets, especially as he could have devised means of doing so without incurring direct personal responsibility. Poor Margary has recorded that nowhere during his long journey through China did he meet with so much civility and politeness, and such an eager desire to forward him on his way, as in Yunan. This he attributed to the emphatic nature of the orders given by "the excellent Viceroy Tsen," who displayed the most laudable zeal in carrying out the orders from Peking. Little did he imagine that the real motive for all this zeal was a secret order to kill him, passed on from station to station, and unexecuted simply because each recipient thought it best to throw the responsibility on to the shoulders of his neighbour. Naturally each official would say: "If So-and-so desires this foreigner to be killed, why did he not do it himself? Evidently there is some lurking danger in the matter, so I will pass the man and the order on to the next official as quickly as possible."

I forwarded Moung Yo's statement to the Embassy at Peking, hoping he might get some compensation for his sufferings out of the indemnity paid by the Chinese Government; but unfortunately the Yunan affair had been officially declared to be "closed," and all the indemnity had been distributed, so the poor fellow got nothing.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Friday, June 28, 1907, a paper was read by J. B. Pennington, Esq. (M.C.S. retired), on "Administration in India: Some Suggestions by an Old District Officer." J. D. Rees, Esq., C.I.E., M.P., kindly occupied the chair in place of Lord Wenlock, who was unavoidably prevented from coming, and there were present, among others: Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir William Plowden, K.C.S.I., Sir Frederick Fryer, K.C.S.I., Sir Henry Bliss, K.C.I.E., Sir Charles Ollivant, K.C.I.E., Colonel C. E., C.S.I., C.M.G., and Mrs. Yate, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. J. Sturrock, C.I.E., Mr. M. S. Das, C.I.E., Colonel Presgrave, D.S.O., Mr. E. C. Meysey Thompson, M.P., Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. J. D. Anderson, Mr. and Mrs. R. F. Chisholm, Captain Heath and the Misses Heath, Mr. W. Hughes, Mr. R. J. Wicksteed, LL.D., Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mrs. Corbett, Mr. R. H. Cook, Mr. Victor Corbett, Mrs. Herbert Pennington, Miss Hindle, Mrs. Davidson, Mrs. Brecks, Mr. C. G. Gümpel, the Misses Delaney, Mr. Nasarvanji M. Cooper, Mr. A. V. Dass, Mr. P. R. Naidu, Mr. George T. Walch, Mr. W. Fraser, Mrs. D'Arcy Hutton, Captain Seymour Leete, Mr. H. Mussenden, Mrs. Ernest Rosher, Mr. C. J. Bond, Mr. J. Rice, Mrs. Nash, Mr. C. B. Ramurac, Mr. R. S. Greenshields, Miss Howlett, Mr. H. S. Lawrence, Mrs. R. G. Watson, Mr. S. E. Kurwa, Mr. N. Ghatak, Mr. H. R. Knapp, Mrs. R. Dutton, Mr. Pyare Lal Misra, Mr. R. M. Dalal, Mr. Walter F. Westbrook, Miss Chapman Hand, Mrs. Rainford, Mrs. Loch, Mrs. Duncan Presgrave, the Rev. A. C. Taylor, Dr. C. B. Rama Rao, Mr. Girdhari Lal Maheshwary, Dr. M. R. Setna, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, said: Ladies and gentlemen, I beg leave to do what I believe it is quite unnecessary to do, and that is to introduce to you Mr. Pennington, who is going to give the lecture to-day. It is quite by accident that I have the honour to be here to-day, owing to the absence from illness, I am sorry to say, of Lord Wenlock, who would have been so glad to have been here, and whom everybody present would have been so glad to have seen. I feel that it places me in rather an invidious position to be taking his place, but it is rather appropriate in one way—that he was one of my last masters in India and the lecturer was one of the first, and, of course, I feel proud to be sitting in the seat of one and criticizing the other. Mr. Pennington is very well known to those who attend the meetings of this Association. He not only put in a long service in India with great credit and distinction, but also, since he came back from India, he has been occupied in spreading abroad the true faith about India, and speaking the truth about that country, which is so grievously misrepresented in Britain. (Applause.) I believe that to be a most honourable function. It is not, in this country, the best for reputation or reward, but it is the path of straight dealing and loyalty to the Government

which he served. I speak with some feeling on this point, for I do not believe since I left India I have passed a day without writing or speaking or doing something in the same direction ; therefore I feel almost as if I was saying half a dozen for Mr. Pennington and six for myself. (Laughter.) But, ladies and gentlemen, however that may be, Mr. Pennington has been doing an exceedingly good work in this way, and now he says this is his last appearance. I can only hope that he will be like the popular artiste, and appear oftener than ever after having made that statement ; but, however that may be, he comes forward to tell us some of the true things about the administration of India—things, I am bound to say, I very rarely hear myself in this country, and which I wish were more frequently heard. (Hear, hear.)

The paper was then read : “Indian Administration : Suggestions by an Old District Officer,” by J. B. PENNINGTON, ESQ., B.L. (Cantab.), M.C.S. (retired).

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, I am sorry to say there is one great fault, as you will agree, in Mr. Pennington's lecture, and that is that it was much too short. That is not a fault that is always found in a lecturer ; and when I very unnecessarily introduced him just now to the audience, and explained what he had been, and what his work had been in India, and how he had performed it, I quite forgot I had been learning myself of late in certain quarters over here—to wit, the House of Commons—that he was one of the “oppressors” of India. (Hear, hear.) I am extremely glad to find from the presence here of so many gentlemen from India, whose presence is always welcomed so heartily by this Association at these meetings, that there are Indian gentlemen in London who do not adopt the view that a member of the Civil Service is one of the “oppressors” of India. It has always struck me—and I mention it in case the gentlemen concerned should care to take an opportunity of answering me—as being very extraordinary that gentlemen who have spent their lives in the service of the Government in India should suddenly discover that it is an oppressive corporation. It has always appeared to me that it would be very advantageous if they would explain—and it is due to the Government, the Service, and, indeed, to themselves to explain—what sudden discovery of administrative incapacity or moral obliquity on its part induced them to withdraw their support from the Government they spent their lives in serving. There is nothing in the careers of the gentlemen who are the most bitter critics of the Government of India in the House of Commons to lead us to suppose that, had that Government seen fit to promote them to be Lieutenant-Governors, for instance, or Chief Commissioners, as the case might be, they would have withdrawn their confidence and ceased to serve it. (Applause.) Therefore I have always thought it was due to themselves and to the service of the Government that they should one day come forward and state what were the reasons that induced them to suddenly discover when they came home that the Government they had served all their lives was unworthy of their support, and had oppressed and was oppressing the Indian peoples. Mr. Pennington was one of the “oppressors” of Indians, and you will have learnt from the

interesting paper he has read what manner of "oppressor" he was. He made one remark which I did not altogether agree with, and that was a little sarcasm at the expense of the inhabitants of Bengal. Of the many millions who inhabit Bengal, we must not suppose that, because there are some of whose methods we strongly disapprove, the masses in that province are not estimable and admirable folks—such the vast majority of our Indian fellow-subjects are ; but, of course, it is the fact—and that is what I have no doubt induced Mr. Pennington to indulge in this mild, and not very reprehensible, sarcasm—that what is too often taken in this country as the voice of India is, in fact, the voice of a section of Bengalis, and that fact, no doubt, rather provokes a little disposition on the part of the lecturer and, of course, of the Chairman, to view with a critical eye their pretensions in this respect.

Now, as this is a non-political platform I must be very careful what I say, and therefore the only other political remark that it has struck me that I might make, and properly make, is this, because it refers to Parliament, and not to the action of any individuals. We have in Parliament what is called the Indian Parliamentary Committee. Anybody who takes an interest in India may become a member of it—that is all the qualification. He receives a post card, answers it, and perhaps attends the meetings. I think there are some 180 members who have taken the trouble to send a post card saying they are interested in India, though those who do not send post cards are probably as interested as those who do. Then those who write become members of this Committee. They meet, and there may be two or three gathered together, or there may be as many as twenty ; but all, or nearly all, who are gathered together are members who have one point of view only before them, and they keep on pressing it ; and when you hear that the Indian Parliament Committee has expressed a certain view, that does not mean that you have the reasoned and considered views of 180 Members of Parliament. It is probably only the view of two or three gathered together, who are extremely active in putting forward the views they individually favour. I think it as well to mention this, because it is really an important matter. Again, there is a connexion, I cannot help thinking, between the English branch of the Congress Committee and the Indian Parliamentary Committee. In some cases all things sometimes work together for good, and in some cases they do not ; but in any case it is interesting to conjecture what is the connexion between these bodies, and whether the result is that views are put forward and expressed by one or two members of the House of Commons which are not the views of the House of Commons, or, perhaps, of the Parliamentary Committee, and, thank Heaven ! are not the views of the Secretary of State for India, as we do know from what has lately happened. (Applause.)

I really hesitate to say any more on this subject, but I was myself (as I am sure everybody present here being interested in India was) astonished and offended to find a memorandum circulated broadcast in the House of Commons on the day of the debate called "Rack Taxing in India," representing Governments and Civil Servants in India as cruel oppressors of the people, and attributing to Sir William Hunter words which he never spoke.

It is the fact that the Government of India is occupied in protecting the tenants against their landlords and protecting the poor, and where there is any rise in assessment it is frequently, as in the Central Provinces, a rise in assessment as against the landlord, coupled with a stringent law preventing the landlord from raising the rent of the tenant; and when I saw it stated, as I did with some indignation, that the Government of Madras had sold up wholesale the lands belonging to the ryots, and had reduced them to beggary—a sort of Irish picture of men being turned out of house and home—I must confess it caused me the greatest indignation to think that the Administration I had served all my life was so grievously misrepresented by an honourable member of the House of Commons. The fact is that the land in question is rented at 1d., or even less than 1d., something like  $\frac{3}{4}$ d. to  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d., an acre, that it is taken up wholesale in the hope of a good season, and if the season proves bad, it is relinquished wholesale, because a man does not mind holding land for which he pays practically no rent till the coming of a good season. This land is sold as a matter of administrative routine, and such sale is a convenience to the speculative holder because he thus ceases to be responsible for the assessment; and then, because some thousands of acres are thus sold for arrears of revenue, the Government of Madras takes a high place amongst the oppressors of the Indian peasants. I confess this causes me the greatest indignation; and that people should take it as calmly as they do, and see our work in India misrepresented in this way without protest passes my comprehension. (Applause.) It therefore gives me particular pleasure to come here to-day to take Lord Wenlock's place and listen to a lecture from my friend Mr. Pennington, than whom no man is more capable of dissipating these false and foolish ideas, these seditious theories, that a Civil Servant is an oppressor of India.

I do not suppose you will care to hear from me any particular comments upon this lecture. I have always thought the best feature of these gatherings is the debate, and that the Chairman ought to behave himself with some repression and discretion in not talking too much, but to call on other gentlemen to speak, and particularly those gentlemen who are present from India. I cannot help, however, saying how heartily I agree with Mr. Pennington in his reference to the language question, and how thoroughly right he is in saying that the way to learn the Indian language is for the official to go shooting with the people, not to sit in his bungalow with a dictionary, but to go out shooting whenever he can, and associate with the people, and in that way he will become on friendly terms with them, and will discover that those who speak for them in this country are by no means their representatives.

When Mr. Pennington refers to our much-abused bureaucratic form of government, I remember that Lord St. Aldwyn, then Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, when it was, in all ignorance of the circumstances, proposed to give a grant to India at the time of the famine, said the finances of India were in a far better condition, and far better administered, than those of England. That is perfectly true. (Hear, hear.) At this moment there is a debate going on in the House

of Commons about the administration of telegraphs and telephones, and if any head of the Telegraph and Telephone Department in India had to stand up and make such statements as the head of that department here has had to make, that benevolent despot at the top, the Viceroy, would have him out immediately, and put somebody in who would manage things better. (Laughter.) That is certainly not the fault of the present Postmaster-General, that admirable official for whom I have the greatest respect—and most efficient he is; nor is it the fault of his predecessors, but it is the fault of the system. When you have 600 people putting in their oar whenever they like on every detail, you cannot have things well administered. It is one of those difficulties which are inherent in a democratic Government, and when you get a benevolent despotism like the Government of India, you have the best form of Government there is in the world (hear, hear), though it is not practicable in democratic nations. If such despotic Governments have occasionally to deal harshly with one man for the good of the multitude, they do not forget the maxim that the welfare of the many must prevail.

Mr. Pennington criticized the native press, and I cannot help saying how heartily I agree with him. It was part of my duty for many years to report upon the native press. I have always urged that it was worthy of the greatest attention, and have written articles on this subject which have appeared in English reviews, and have tried to get people to take an interest in it, and I do think and believe that, while we should respect freedom of utterance, we should curb licence. Now, certainly the time has come to curb the licence of the native press when we have the editors writing and publishing articles which openly contemplate the termination of our rule in India. I take it all of us who come here regard as axiomatic the fact that our government in India is, as far as a human institution can be, a good government, and that we mean to continue to govern India (applause); but I have heard Mr. Naoroji, who is cited in the paper and regarded as a moderate man, say that he contemplates the withdrawal of the British Government, and there is a member of the House of Commons, Sir Henry Cotton—a little book which he wrote was sent to me the other day, and I read it—who says that our function is to prepare the way for those who are to come after us—namely, the Indian Administration. Now, anybody who professes such opinions puts himself completely out of court. (Applause.) In my opinion, as a subject of the Crown you cannot discuss such theories. I think I may assume that India, which is our greatest possession, is to be retained to all time, as far as we can foresee, and that is the basis of all discussions at all lectures which take place in this room. (Hear, hear.)

As to education: of course education produces unrest; but it is our business to keep that unrest within bounds. The most dangerous feature, I think, of these dissertations and these views, which are expressed broadcast in this country, is, that while we all of us in this room, the Indian gentlemen included, know perfectly well these pictures are false or grossly exaggerated, and that the picture given by the lecturer is the true picture, there are a large number of people who know nothing whatever about it,

and the most impressionable class in this respect of all classes is one which already is exercising great power, and will probably exercise greater power in this country—I mean the Labour Party. I have heard some of them say, when they received this absolutely monstrous misrepresentation about allowing rack taxing in India, "This is a terrible indictment." We cannot disregard this kind of thing, and I am quite unwilling to get up and say a word about India under any circumstances whatever without dealing with this difficulty, because it is a very serious danger that gross misrepresentations should be put abroad from quarters that should be responsible, and meet with some credence in quarters which are highly influential. I believe that nothing will tend more to reduce the influence of such misrepresentations than temperate, informing and sympathetic lectures like this which Mr. Pennington has given to-day, and such as I hope he will give again. (Applause.)

SIR HENRY BLISS, having congratulated the Chairman on the useful work he had done in the House of Commons with regard to India, proceeded to deal with the suggestion made in the paper, that the present districts should be enlarged and more Indian officials employed. In his opinion, the districts were already too big, and what was wanted was that the district officers should be left in a district for a reasonable time, so as to get to thoroughly know the district. The district officer ought to know every village, every road, every bridge and every tank. Therefore, if anything, the present size of the districts should be reduced. Then everything possible ought to be done to reduce the work at present heaped on the shoulders of the unfortunate collector, who was an absolute slave, as he could testify from his own experience, from morning till night. Could not something be done to relieve him from the perpetual writing of reports all day long by the Government supplying him with a clerk who could write shorthand, and to whom he could dictate his reports? The lecturer had spoken of the advisability of sending the budding Indian civilian to an agricultural college; but though a knowledge of agriculture might be useful in some circumstances, he doubted whether the knowledge that would be obtained in an agricultural college in England would be of much use under the entirely different circumstances of India. Besides, the function of the Indian civilian was not to specialize but to administer, and, moreover, the lecturer's regret for the abolition of Haileybury was rather inconsistent, as Haileybury was not a specialist institution at all, but dealt with its pupils on the lines of making them what they certainly turned out to be—capable, upright, and trustworthy administrators. He believed himself that the course adopted at present was the right one.

MR. M. S. DAS (late Member of the Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal) said that the question which should engage the attention of every man who was a British subject, and wished sincerely to remain a British subject, was What was the reason for the present state of tension—he would not call it unrest—between the *two nations*? The question had been looked at from a sectional point of view, as to whether certain men should be allowed to hold certain posts under Government or not; but that did not involve the whole issue between the two nations

who he believed had been brought together by Providence for the good of both nations. (Hear, hear.) The real question was, How could the two nations become friendly to each other? He did not believe if India were governed to-morrow by a larger number of Indian civilians it would necessarily be a happier country, unless those entrusted with the administration of the country made it their first duty to see to the happiness of the people. He was not a Congress man; while he sympathized with the aspirations of the Congress party to a great extent, he did not believe that the part of the country where he lived was ripe for political agitations, and did not think that the people in his part of the country were ripe for political discussions. (Hear, hear.) He had himself devoted his time to improving the industries of the country, and one of his objects in coming to England was to take out some English workmen for his school of industries. He considered that the relation between the two nations was that of a father to a child. India has a right to demand justice and redress of grievances. He had come here to bring to the notice of the British public the grievances of the people of Orissa. There we find Government subjecting the people to harassment without any law to justify their action, and yet the authorities are indignant if you call the action of Government illegal. (PRESIDENT: You can sue Government in the civil courts. MR. DAS: You can't expect thousands of poor cultivators to sue Government.)

If the British public are not willing to give me an audience, if they are not willing to give redress in cases of just complaint, the relation between the two nations is terminated by your action. If the father declines to listen to the complaints of the son, he cuts asunder the sacred tie which binds the two.

Here the PRESIDENT remarked that each speaker was allowed only ten minutes. In his opinion, they should really try to remove the grievances of the people first, and then afterwards settle the grievances of the educated people.

SIR FREDERIC FRYER said he had served what he thought was almost a unique term as a district officer in one district, namely from 1869 to 1884, in the Dera Ghazi Khan district in the Punjab. In his opinion no amount of training would make a man a good district officer if he had not got it in him. What was wanted was not so much theoretical training as association with the natives and a knowledge of the language. (Hear, hear.) There was no training in India equal to that of a settlement officer; for he was bound to visit every village in the district, and thus learnt to know everybody in it; and if every young civilian could pass through a period of settlement for training before being placed in charge of a district, he was certain the advantage would be immense. In the Punjab it had been the rule to attach young civilians for a time to a settlement, and if they could not acquire the necessary knowledge in that way he did not think they would ever acquire it in any other way. With reference to the association of natives with the district officers, from his experience in the Punjab and in Burma, he had found it an admirable system, especially with regard to the trial of petty crimes and petty civil cases. He was quite sure the more natives were associated with European officers in the administration, the



better it would be not only for the people, but also for the European officers. (Hear, hear.) It would also lead to a better feeling between natives and Europeans.

On the CHAIRMAN telling the meeting that no Indian gentlemen were going to speak,

DR. C. B. RAMARAO said that he rose to say a few words lest it be said that they were offered an opportunity, but they would not give out their views. In Southern India, where he came from, the names of the lecturer and Sir Henry Bliss were household words; and in Telugu districts Mr. Pennington's name would never be forgotten, more especially because that kindness and sympathy which marked the administration of the older class of civilians was not so much seen in recent times. He himself had been absent from India for more than a year, and when he read in the newspapers of the disturbances in the Punjaub nobody could have been more grieved than he was. He believed with Mr. Das that with the great majority of Indians loyalty was inborn in them, and if here and there a few individuals showed disaffection, there must be something wrong either in the individuals or in their environment. The way to get at the truth was to approach the question in sympathy with the people. He had been a Government servant for the last twenty-five years. Speaking of the medical profession, to which he belonged, he thought that the sympathy of the I.M.S. officers was not even as much as that shown by the civilians. And on many public occasions, such as at the meetings of the S.I. Branch of the British Medical Association, statements were made by them which betrayed great ignorance of the habits and customs of the Hindus. The lecturer had clearly shown the attitude he assumed towards the Indians while in office in India. He hoped that the broad lines of the sympathetic plan sketched out by him would be taken up by the present administrators and freely put into practice, then most of the difficulties which had sprung up here and there would disappear.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said he desired in the first place to express his sense of the obligation which those devoted to India were under to the Chairman, not only for his clever and eloquent speech, but for his conduct in the House of Commons, where, surrounded by many persons whose expressed opinions were hostile to the administration of India, which had paid and pensioned them, he had done good work for India and the Service of which he was an ornament. (Applause.) The question of the administration of India, partly by the English Civil Service and partly by the Indian gentlemen who very largely filled its posts—to a much larger extent than people in England understood—was so vast a subject that no one, either in a lecture or a speech, could do more than touch the fringe of it, and consequently Mr. Pennington had only touched upon one or two points, and he (Sir Lepel Griffin) would merely like to say, in justification of the Service to which he himself had belonged, that there was very little doubt in the minds of all intelligent and honourable people that the work done by England in India had been primarily done with the intention of doing the very best for the people of that country. (Hear, hear.) It was accepted as an axiom by the whole civilized world that there was no example in past

history of a work more splendidly performed than the administration of India by England. (Applause.) The Indians themselves accepted it. If he was asked whether there were any flies in the apothecary's ointment, any skeleton at the feast, or any defects: of course all human institutions were full of defects, and people who appreciated liberal ideas understood that every institution, and, amongst others, the administration of India, must go on being reformed and improved if it was to continue to have any vitality at all. (Hear, hear.) They would all accept with the greatest goodwill the larger inclusion into the ruling body of those loyal, educated, and honourable Indians who had proved by their work their capacity to co-operate in the work of governing India. There was no wish to exclude them, but, on the other hand, the greatest wish and desire to give to all those who would govern wisely and loyally an equal opportunity with themselves of doing honourable work. (Applause.) With regard to the very pertinent remarks of Mr. Das, India was a very large place, and they could not, with any approach to precision, speak of two nations deciding questions on equal terms between each other. India was made up of many countries and various races of opposite types, and the interests of Scinde and the interests of the Punjaub, of Madras and of Bombay, had nothing whatever in common with the interests and aspirations of Bengal. They might just as well put the whole of Europe together and say that one system of administration was equally good for Russia, Spain, Italy, and Greece. Every province must have its own method of governing, and so long as the rulers were inspired with the desire to do the best for the people of the country, then the administration was to be judged by all reasonable people with the utmost generosity, and its faults—where there were faults—were only to be considered in order that they might be removed. (Applause.)

SIR WILLIAM PLOWDEN said that the difficulty of the administration of India, in consequence of the small number of English administrators, had been a subject to which he had devoted much attention, and many years ago he had introduced a Bill into Parliament, which was supported on both sides of the House, intending to make use of the institutions familiar to the Indian mind, by which he had hoped to secure a more useful joint administration of the country by Englishmen with native assistance. That Bill may have been somewhat taken advantage of in the arrangements contemplated by the Viceroy for the appointment of a council of notables. His experience as a district officer had led him to believe that, however earnestly the English official might try to do his best for the district in which he was placed, he had nothing like the power which a good native administrator had when placed in the same position. A very curious illustration of that had occurred to him just after the Indian Mutiny. A portion of territory which had belonged to the mutinous Nawab of Ghujjhur near Delhi was taken by us, and it was intended that portions should be carved out of it, and handed over as rewards to the Maharaja of Patiala and the Maharaja of Jhind. In the interim he (Sir William Plowden) was placed in charge of this district, and did his best to acquire a knowledge of the wants of the people, and to administer the Punjaub law in such a way that the people

of the district should be satisfied. Orders then came to transfer certain villages to the Maharaja of Jhind, who was a singularly able administrator. Those orders were not to be acted upon immediately, so, happening to be out shooting in the neighbourhood of the villages that were to be withdrawn from his administration, he took the opportunity of questioning some of the principal people as to whether they were satisfied with the existing state of things, and their reply was that they were quite satisfied, and could not have anything better. He then asked them what they would say if they were going to be handed over to a native administration, and they said, "God forbid that such a thing should happen!" Then he asked them if they would mind being transferred to the Maharaja of Jhind, and then one, more outspoken than the others, said: "Now, sahib, you have put this to us in rather an awkward way. Of course, we are quite satisfied with you—you are first class; but if we are going to be handed over from the British Government to a man like the Maharaja of Jhind, we shall be delighted. No sahib can administer our country as a native Maharaja can. If he is a good man, a good native administrator is infinitely superior to you, whatever your intentions may be." That fact had to be borne in mind, and without going as far as to say there was a feeling of unrest in India—for it was a very exceptional state of things where these seditious events were occurring—there was no doubt that the more they had educated the people of India the more naturally desirous they—the educated people—must be of taking a greater share in the administration of their own country, but that feeling was confined to a small percentage of a great population. The great bulk of the people were content with whatever was done for them, if done for an honest purpose and by honest hands. They did not want to take an immediate share in the administration of the country, but in the case of the highly educated man, as a matter of justice, if he was capable, he should be allowed to do so. Everything was working in that direction.

MR. NASARVANJI MANECKJI COOPER (Editor of the *Parsi Chronicle*) said that every true lover of India must deplore the conduct of the anti-British agitators who have fomented the existing unrest. They obviously did harm to the cause which they professed to have at heart, namely, the wider association of the people with the work of government. If the existing disturbances continued trade would suffer, and the flow of British capital to India would be checked. Mr. Cooper further said that the charge levelled against English members of the Indian Civil Service that they acted like tyrants towards the natives of India was absolutely groundless and ridiculous. They, in his opinion, and in the opinion of those who knew them best, were always actuated by a sense of justice towards the people whom they were sent out to govern. A lot of mischief was done by several Radical and Labour Members of Parliament. Such members were always ready to pronounce opinion on Indian administration after a couple of months' travel in India, or after reading a few Parliamentary Blue-Books. Such people were the real enemies of India, for they indirectly excited the people to rebellion. He (the speaker) was not antagonistic to the extension of rights to the people of India, so long as

these were consistent with the maintenance of British rule, which he believed to be essential to Indian progress. The India of to-day was not the India of the Mutiny period. The genius of many of its people, hidden by centuries of misrule and anarchy, was being brought to light by the enlightened policy of the great nation whose destiny had been linked with ours. Indians could rightly claim a greater share in the administration of the country and the grant to them of higher posts. This was one of the ways in which England could show that she governed India for the peace, contentment, and prosperity of her people. And she could best fulfil her enlightened and avowed policy in that respect when, by our moderation, our patience, our strength of character, we Indians proved ourselves fitted to be entrusted with greater powers and higher responsibilities.

MR. A. K. CONNELL said that, according to his experience, there were three types of gentlemen who undertook to inform the British nation on Indian affairs. First of all, there was the gentleman well known as "Mr. Pagett, M.P.," the gentleman who went out very comfortably under modern conditions to India during the cold weather, was shown about, and if he was very unwise and inexperienced in administrative work, he rapidly formed conclusions after a short visit, and proceeded on his return to England to explain what was wrong in India. Never having been a district officer, he explained to the British public and the House of Commons how badly the district officer governed India, and led the House of Commons to infer that, having been trained by spouting on a Radical platform in some town in England, he would, were he himself sent out there, easily govern India. The second type of gentleman was the retired Anglo-Indian, who, at the end of his career, showed his approval of the Government by accepting from it a decoration. He then came home and talked to a Radical audience entirely ignorant of India, but impressed by a title, and got returned to Parliament, and then proceeded to foul the nest in which he had been hatched, and depreciate the Government of which he had been a member and a decorated officer. Then, the third type was the man who was generally a silent worker, but who had spoken to them that day, and that was the district officer himself, who under many trials and many hardships had to carry on the government of India. He said advisably "carry on the government of India." For they could get rid to-morrow of the Viceroy's Legislative Council and all the legislative bodies in India, possibly the Secretary of State for India and the India Office, and they might get rid, and well rid as far as India was concerned, of the House of Commons; but what they could not get rid of in the government of India was that which was the pillar of the State in India—namely, the district officer. (Laughter and applause.) He was not, and had not been, a district officer himself, nor served in any official capacity, but he spoke from his own personal experience in India, he having been with a district officer for six months, and no "Pagett, M.P." had ever done that. Having had that experience, he desired again\* to bear testimony as an independent outsider, that there was no man more

\* After a year's stay in India, 1879-80, I dedicated a small volume, "Discontent and Danger in India," to the district officers.

worthy of admiration by those who knew how government of Asiatics should be carried on than the district officer of India. To weaken his authority or disparage him in any way was to strike at the very roots of the best feature of British administration in India. (Applause.) Once raise the cry, "Perish the district officer!" and you need not add, "Perish the Indian Empire!" It will disappear without even a resolution of the House of Commons to stimulate its dissolution. An ideal district officer should be a sportsman with all the best qualities of British manhood, at the same time cultivated enough to sympathize with Eastern ways, and especially manners. He must be affable and accessible, not plagued by needless paper work, with a "hand of steel in a velvet glove"; above all, as Mr. Pennington has said, long resident in his district, that, like a father, he may know his children.

COLONEL C. E. YATE: Our lecture to-day is on "Indian Administration," and I will therefore confine my remarks to that subject. I think all will agree with the last speaker as to the merits of the district officer in India. In the words of the lecturer, he is "the pivot on which the whole government of the country works." With regard to what the lecturer has said about the training of young civilians in the language of the district in which they are to be employed, I cannot help thinking that the man who is going to give the best years of his life to India should be out there by the time he is twenty. He would then learn the language of his district while yet young, and once posted to a district, he should be kept in that district, and not sent about from one end of the province to the other, and from one end of India even to the other, as so often is the case at present. Constant changes of officers from one district to another are the bane of our Indian administration. Any man new to his district must necessarily be more or less in the hands of that official described by the lecturer as that "very powerful native subordinate who is known as the Huzur Sarishtadar," who thus exercises much of the power without any of the responsibility. I confess that I cannot follow Mr. Pennington in the proposal he quotes of Mr. Smeaton's, to make the district officer and the Sarishtadar "co-equal in dignity and power, so that they should act generally in consultation, something like a Resident of a native State and the Prime Minister." In the first place, the analogy quoted by Mr. Smeaton is entirely wrong. The Resident and the Prime Minister of a native State are by no means co-equal in power. The Resident has no power whatever. The power rests in the hands of the Chief and his Minister. The Resident is simply a friendly adviser, and the less he interferes with internal administration the better. No conclusion founded upon such false premises can possibly be right. Again, Mr. Smeaton apparently proposes to double the size of all districts in India. Districts in India are already too large as they are, and I entirely concur with what has already been said by Sir Henry Bliss on this subject. No man can get to know the people of his district sufficiently well as it is, and to double the size of the district would be fatal to all personal rule; and if our rule is to be popular in India, it must, as far as possible, be personal. Let the people know their district officer and he know them, and there is mutual

confidence. Without personal knowledge of each other, how can we hope for success? Again, I see no object in the proposed advisory councils. No council that has not the power and responsibility of action can well be anything more than a hostile opposition. By all means let us admit the people of India to a continually increasing share in the government of India as circumstances permit; but when admitted, let them come in with full responsibility and full power of action, not simply as "advisory councillors." As it is, the increase of Indians in the Indian services has increased enormously of late years. I have not the Civil Lists of the various provinces to refer to, but I wish some one would kindly add up the number of British and Indian names respectively in the indexes of the various Indian Provincial Civil Lists and let us know what the totals of each now are. By the way some Indians talk, one would suppose that Indians are entirely debarred from all Government service in their own country, and that they were in the state of the Asiatic races in the Russian provinces of Central Asia, whereas in reality the very contrary is the case, and the Indian element in the Government of India far, far exceeds the British. As Sir Charles Elliott pointed out in his address to us here on the occasion of Mr. Anderson's lecture in February last, "there is no official post in Bengal, except that of Lieutenant-Governor, which has not been held, and may not be held again, by a native of India." For the increase of Indians in the Indian services, I think with Sir Charles Elliott, as stated in his address I have just quoted, that the old statutory Civil Service should be created afresh on somewhat similar lines to those on which it was originally started. Under present circumstances I see no object in encouraging young Indian students to come over to England for training. On the contrary, I cannot help thinking that it would be preferable if they were to be appointed direct to a statutory Civil Service in India, and were then, after some years' service, to be encouraged to come over to England on furlough. I should like, in conclusion, to express my accord with what the lecturer has said about "the peculiar danger of a free press in India." We may have any press laws we like in our own country and amongst our own people, but I do not see that we have any right to impose those laws on other people, to whose habits and customs such laws are foreign. I would make no difference between the English and Indian press in India: the law there should be the same for all; but some press law there should be, I think. The lecturer finally refers to the desirability of inducing good men to stay longer in India, and of letting those who do not like the country leave earlier. I entirely agree with him. I see no reason why the civilian should not be permitted to leave India on a reduced pension after twelve or fifteen years' service if he wishes to go, and I see no reason why a man who gives thirty-five years' good service to India should not get a higher pension than the man who gives twenty-five years. The hard-and-fast rule of a pension only after twenty-five years' service is, I think, a mistake.

MR. R. G. ORR agreed with Sir Henry Bliss's view that the question of the true government of India depended upon the intimacy of the civilian

with the native. In 1860 he had met in Madras an old civilian who had been either in the district of Madura or of Salem for twenty-five or thirty years, and, as a result, knew everybody in the district almost by name, and every circumstance connected with them, whose departure was bewailed by rich and poor. At the present time in the Madura district during the last seven years there had been no less than eleven different collectors. That was a condition of things which was sure to militate against the good government of the country, and was a serious blot on the administration, involving much hardship on the natives, because it meant undesirable management, practically, by native subordinates.

MR. GIRDHARI LALL MAHESHWARY desired to say a word on behalf of the native press of the Punjaub. He came from Amritsar, near Lahore, where an editor and a proprietor of a newspaper had been prosecuted. The trouble was brought about by the Government not taking the trouble to inquire otherwise than judicially as to the truth of the statement which appeared in the Panjabi. Had the statement been untrue, the prosecution of the editor and proprietor would never have caused so much row among the people. If the Government would not take notice of complaints, and even of the memorials, how could opinions be expressed and grievances ventilated except through the press? If they want to muzzle the press in India, they ought to do the same in England, for he frequently saw statements about India published in the English press which were entirely misrepresented. With regard to equality of law, he would ask them to consider part viii., chap. xxxiii., of the Criminal Procedure Code, Act V. of 1898, and they would see how unequal the law was as to the trial of an Englishman and an Indian, say, for the crime of murder, where a European cannot be punished with transportation for life, but penal servitude only, which punishment was extended only for them as decided by the Madras High Court, I.L.R., 19 Madras, 484. An Englishman was tried by a jury, but there was no jury system for the natives of the Punjaub.

DR. M. R. SETNA asked the Chairman why it was that the Punjaub Colonization Act, which was made out by him to be such an innocent piece of legislation, had to be vetoed by the Government of India, an act almost unprecedented in the legislative history of the country? also, if he meant to observe that the Punjabi people, intellectual and otherwise, rich and poor, classes and masses, were all such fools as not to appreciate its innocence, and so strenuously oppose the local government in the Legislative Council, in the press, and at public meetings? As the Chairman and Sir Henry Bliss in their speeches seemed to make so much of efficiency in the Civil Service of India, he would ask if within the last fifty years the Indian gentlemen employed had not been found efficient in their duties. If inefficiency was found amongst the Indians, there were inefficient Englishmen, too. Indian people have proved themselves to be able to compete with Englishmen in all spheres of life—in education of different degrees, in the professions, in science, literature, sports, etc. The speaker did not think it was so much a question of efficiency as of vested interests.

MR. PENNINGTON'S reply: That there was literally no time for my reply is clear from the fact that we were guilty of the unpardonable mistake

of separating without the usual formal vote of thanks to the Chairman, though I am sure Mr. Rees must have felt more than sufficiently recompensed by the very cordial manner in which he was received. If I had made any reply I could hardly have done more than thank the audience for the far too flattering manner in which my few mild suggestions were generally received.

Sir Henry Bliss, indeed, and Colonel Yate objected strongly to my scheme for giving the collector an Indian coadjutor of equal rank and dignity, and I see now that my language on that point was liable to misconstruction, and that the position of a Minister in a native State is not a very good example of what I meant, except as a proof that officials in such a position can almost always work together quite cordially; and I think that a European and Indian official working together on terms of equality (of course with the aid of a secretary) would make a more efficient district government than the European with an Indian in the quite subordinate position of a Sheristadar. I am inclined to think, also, that two men, *dividing the work to suit themselves*, would be quite capable of managing two, or even three, of our present districts. The purely district work would, of course, devolve on assistants and deputies of various ranks, who should not be too much interfered with, and, above all, should *not be moved* oftener than absolutely necessary; and when the judicial and executive functions are divided, as, of course, they will be as soon as the Viceroy has time to read the papers which have been accumulating for the last ten years or so, I believe the work of supervision would not be at all excessive. Colonel Yate was mistaken in supposing that I intended the native collector to be a man of the same class as the present Sheristadar, though I have known many Sheristadars, such as Sir A. Sheshiya Shastri, who were in every way qualified to hold such a superior post, and would have been invaluable as coadjutors.

Sir Henry Bliss, again, thought that no technical training could be devised which would be of any use to an Indian civilian, and pointed out quite accurately that Haileybury was not such a college. But my contention was that Haileybury might easily have been improved, so as to provide a technical training which would have been extremely useful to a man whose business, after all, is largely that of a land agent. No doubt the Settlement Department, as Sir Frederic Fryer said, does provide an excellent training for a revenue officer; but even settlement officers themselves require technical training, and would be none the worse for a course of education in an agricultural college. It would open their eyes to many things they cannot be expected to know by the light of nature, and which at present they pick up in a haphazard fashion in the course of actual work, if, indeed, they ever learn them at all. It is also quite a mistake to suppose that the Indian ryot has nothing to learn from scientific agriculture.

Lastly, I would like to say that, if every revenue officer has a fixed hour every day for hearing petitioners, and *hears them patiently*, he will soon find that they will accommodate themselves to his time, and will not interfere unduly with his early tea. But, as Sir Thomas Munro used to say, they should be allowed to say what they want to say, and then, even though



you cannot give them all they want, they will generally be satisfied if you give them kind words.

I am afraid I must admit that I was a little disconcerted by the rather acrimonious turn the discussion took as to the conduct of business in the House of Commons. The title of my paper was, no doubt, wide enough to include the House of Commons, and I dare say the criticism of the conduct of various Members of Parliament was fair enough; but, as Sir Lepel Griffin pointed out, I had purposely confined my suggestions to a few points only on which I could speak from personal knowledge as a district officer, and had no wish to judge anyone else. My chief object was to find out some way of employing Indian officials in more responsible executive positions.

## FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W., on Monday, July 29, 1907, a paper was read by M. S. Das, Esq., C.I.E., on "Indian Industries," Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., LL.D., in the chair. The following, among others, were present: Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir Henry Bliss, Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. J. D. Anderson, Mr. B. A. Wagle, Mr. A. Rogers, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. S. M. Mitra, Lady Spicer, Mr. and Mrs. R. F. Chisholm, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mrs. Corbett, Mr. Victor Corbett, Mr. and Mrs. D. J. Anderson, Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan, Mr. C. B. Ramarau, Mr. Walter F. Westbrook, Mr. J. Arnold Martin, Miss Hindle, Dr. Bhabba, Mr. and Mrs. Candy, Mr. Gerald Ritchie, Miss A. Smith, Miss Hilda Malony, Mr. P. D. Patel, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Dube, Mr. P. L. Misra, Rev. J. P. Ashton, Mr. N. N. Ghatak, Mrs. and Miss Wright, Mr. Herbert S. Ashton, Mrs. Evans Pugh, Mr. M. A. Rashid, Miss Chapman Hand, Miss Bougard, Mr. D. H. Rai, Mr. C. F. Shaw, Mr. Walter Acock, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon (Hon. Secretary).

The CHAIRMAN having introduced Mr. Das, the paper was read.

DR. POLLEN said he had listened with great pleasure to the paper that had been read. He agreed with what the lecturer had said as to the effect of climate upon thoughts and feelings. It was true people sometimes took their complexion from their surroundings, although some songsters had sung in soft phrases of places where "every prospect" pleased, and "only man" was "vile"; so perhaps it was possible to have beautiful surroundings and not be improved thereby. He followed with approval the remarks of the lecturer as to how the Indians had gone wrong in copying England with regard to fighting Nature. He understood the lecturer to say that the natural tendency of Indians was to follow Nature, and this was one of the reasons why they wore shoes with broad toes. People in this country seemed to have paid the penalty of fighting Nature in this particular, because, according to the lecturer, their toes overlapped, whereas the Indian did not suffer from that affliction. He had also listened to what the lecturer had said about joint-stock companies, and he could not help thinking that they had in India a much finer specimen of co-operation than anything ever attained to in the West, within the memory of man, in that wonderful co-operative system of the "village committees." He thought the East could give lessons to the West in that wonderful organization. He had also noted what had been said about the Indians having followed the English to too great an extent in cutting off the tails of their horses. He always deprecated that, and had never treated his own horses in that way. He approved of the classification of "heart, head, and hand," but he objected very strongly to the prominence given by the lecturer to the hand. The lecturer had said there was the heart, the head, and the hand, but the greatest of these was the hand. He, the speaker, would

reverse that order, and would say the hand, the head, and the heart—the greatest of those was the heart. In desiring the industrial development of India, they desired that industrial development, not for mere practical ends alone, but for the general uplifting of the people, to render the people better in heart and in soul. No doubt there was a great field for energy in encouraging the economic development of India as a means of elevating the people. He agreed that perhaps the English Government had gone a little astray with regard to the book-knowledge they imparted. He deprecated very much the exaggerated statements as to the unrest in India which they had heard about. He had passed through India recently and visited some of the “unrestful” provinces, but could not detect the unrest anywhere. There was certainly a feeling abroad that the old Sahib, like their Chairman, was not being replaced by a Sahib of the same calibre nowadays. He often thought of what the Sikh Sirdar was credited with having said :

“The Sahibs of old were Hakims strong, who could read your soul with a look,

But the Sahib to-day cannot settle a case without consulting a book.

The Sahib still, no doubt, is just, but his manner to us seems cold ;  
And he has not that touch with the people quite like the Sahib of old.

’Tis sympathy the people want, and the good old days of yore—

When the Sahib’s gold was equity, and the Hakim’s word was law.”  
—(Applause.)

MR. W. COLDSTREAM said that the subject of the lecture was of the highest importance. The development of indigenous industries in India, and the extension of manufactures generally in that great country, was one of the most important subjects to which Government, or they as individuals, well-wishers of India, could devote their attention. He would run briefly through some headings on this subject which, during his career in India, he had thought out. There were indigenous arts and industries in India well worth conserving. He was sorry to say that some of them had, to a certain extent, died away, but there were still a great many which he was sure would take their place in the world’s arts room, and which he invited them all to study. There was no doubt that the British Government could do very valuable service towards the development of art and industries in India, not by excessive interference or control, but by wise guidance—for instance, in the department of education. He would like to see the teaching of drawing very widely extended in India. In all the high schools there should be drawing classes ; and training and instruction in design along indigenous models would be, certainly, highly desirable. He was not aware himself, though he had no doubt the Chairman knew very well, whether there was for Indian arts such a handbook as Owen Jones.

The CHAIRMAN : Any English instruction is destructive of the native arts of India.

MR. COLDSTREAM thought a record of artistic design and instruction in design was necessary.

The CHAIRMAN : India is absolutely our master in the application of art to decorative design. India has preserved the traditions of applied art as they have never been continuously preserved elsewhere.

MR. COLDSTREAM thought the Chairman would agree with him, at all events, that it was not so fully developed or so carefully nurtured as it ought to be.

The CHAIRMAN: We have destroyed Indian art, or are in process of destroying it, wherever we have established schools of art in India. We ought rather to have Indian schools of art for teaching decorative art in England. (Hear, hear.)

MR. COLDSTREAM thought there was something to be said for the Chairman's suggestion. They might learn lessons from the Indian artisan. It was very important to see what art industries were likely to find markets in the West. Art manufactures should have a fair chance, and the people of Europe should know about them. The public knew very little about the great body of beautiful work which was to be found in India, and which, if properly advertised and made known, would be encouraged. They knew that, unless art manufactures were bought, and the stimulus of cash was applied, a full development could not be expected.

The CHAIRMAN: Wherever the village system flourishes in India art flourishes; wherever our competitive commercial system extends it is destroyed.

MR. COLDSTREAM thought there should be an art directory, in which those who wished to see specimens of art would be able to find the names of those who produced the best specimens. Then, there should be in all large towns committees of arts and manufactures, who should attend to the development of Indian art on Indian lines. They should see that the artificers had a fair chance of their wares being really kept up to a proper standard of design, and that they were properly advertised and made known to the public. He had looked forward with considerable interest to a movement on such lines as would help the ancient industries of India; but as far as Government was concerned they must avoid all such authoritative directions as would be injurious to the indigenous arts and industries. They must also avoid official support of industries beyond the experimental stage. He cordially agreed with what the lecturer had said, and what had fallen from Dr. Pollen, about the great importance of asking Congress to take up the question of developing Indian arts and industries, and he hoped they would increasingly devote their attention to that subject. (Applause.)

MR. WAGLE, who was introduced to the meeting by the Chairman as one who not only had a practical experience of factory life in this country, but also a considerable experience of other industries in which he had been interested, and who combined sound ideas with practical work, said that the paper which they just then heard hardly gave any ground for strong criticism. The lecturer had, however, introduced two points, which required some comment. The first was regarding the action of the Government in the cause of the industrial development of India, and the second was how the National Congress could help it.

With regard to the first point, he asked them to see what the Government had done in the past. They have given their very best consideration to this subject for many years; they have been establishing technical and art schools in all principal centres of India. Very recently they have

opened a new department of industry and commerce, with an avowed object of giving special attention to questions of industrial and commercial importance. All this undoubtedly proved that there was not only the ardent desire, but also a strenuous effort. He did not believe that there was anyone in that room who doubted the earnest wish of the Government to encourage and foster Indian industries. But that wish and those efforts did not meet with such success as one would have wished. It seemed to him that the Government is dealing with this question theoretically, and they have not yet realized the practical difficulties which they really had to grapple with in the particular cause which they wished to advance. They approached the question in a Western economic point of view. Western economics was an advanced science, but its truths were not absolute when applied to Oriental nations, and it was necessary to modify and harmonize them to the genius of the people of the country. He was afraid the department of industry and commerce has not met with the success which was anticipated for it. This department, which at one time promised to give special attention to the fostering of Indian industries and commerce, was now found out to be doing the same duties which were performed by the Government of India, under the name of other departments, previous to its starting. It was a new name given to the old work, and therefore the reform was more denominational and departmental than real. No new policy had been introduced, no new steps were taken, and no new scheme has been still thought of, under which people should find it easier to establish new industries, than before. While on this point, he may be allowed, for a comparison, to refer to the labours of the most energetic and enlightened Prince, the Maharaja of Gwalior, who was the first to establish a department of industry and commerce, and whose lines of work have been more fruitful in the Gwalior State than the department of the Government of India in the British provinces. This Prince owned over two hundred miles of railway, which was under his direct management, and all repairs and works of miscellaneous kind relating to this railway were executed in the State workshop, which by itself is now a paying concern to the State. New factories have been started, such as the leather factory and the tailoring factory, which supply all the demands of the Imperial and other troops in the State, and a new carpet factory, which exports carpets to the European and American markets; steps also have been taken by that energetic Prince to establish a cotton mill at Gwalior, which is expected to involve a capital of over twenty lakhs of rupees. Besides this, a new technical school on improved commercial lines was in full swing, supplying skilled labour to other industrial institutions of the State. The whole State has been systematically surveyed by an expert mining engineer, and probably an industrial survey will soon be undertaken. In addition to these attempts, the old and celebrated industries, such as the muslin-weaving in Chandri, the iron-making and fibre-production in other parts of the State, have been energetically pushed forward, and he hoped that it will not be long before they see some of the products of the Gwalior State occupying the place in the markets of the world. The exhibition of the products of the Gwalior State, organized in honour of the opening of

the Victoria Memorial Market, by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, during his royal visit to Gwalior, was such a great success that it gave every one who visited it an idea of the vast resources of the State and the expeditious manner in which they were being commercially developed. Now, why should not the efforts of the Government of India be rewarded with the same success? Because the Maharaja of Gwalior worked on entirely different lines, more suited and better understood by the people. The department of industry and commerce of the Government of India was worked by civilians, who were no doubt excellent men in their own way, but men who were without any knowledge or experience of the industries of the country. They were more conversant with the Western economics than the real needs of the people, and their efforts were neither understood nor supported by the people. It was the tradition of all Asiatic countries that the Government should lead the people; that had been the past history of all nations in Asia, and India is no exception to the rule. The British Government could not break this tradition, which has been welded in the blood of the people, by merely enunciating the principle of Western economics, that the Government should not interfere with the commerce or industries of the country. The Maharaja of Gwalior has succeeded so admirably because he leads his people. The Government did not do it, and therefore their attempt for the industrial development had not yet shown any tangible results beyond the publication of statistics and reports. What the Government of India should do, in his opinion, was to set down certain concessions, which every man who wishes to establish a new industry should be entitled to receive, without the slightest delay, because delay in such cases is destructive. A man who had capital, and who wished to employ it in a new industry, could not afford to keep his capital idle for any length of time, and he could not wait indefinitely for the result of a long correspondence with the Government for four or five years. He could understand the difficulty of the Government officers in collecting information, and the pressure of other work they had to do, which makes such delay to a certain extent inevitable; but what he had to suggest was, that means should be found to simplify difficulties of the capitalist as well as of the officials. Before any tangible results were to be seen, the Government of India would have to study the question of the industrial development of India more analytically and deal with it in greater details than they have hitherto done.

The next question was about the technical schools. He had no doubt that technical schools are good things, but under Indian conditions they have been ineffective. A man who considered technical schools a panacea to the industrial poverty of the country, in his opinion, had not grasped the real situation before him. These technical schools were frequented by boys who were quite strangers to the trades they were learning, and it was bad economics to prepare new skilled labour and neglect the highly skilled labour actually existing in the country. The question was not to supply skilled artisans; they had plenty of these in India, and he challenged any country to produce a set of artisans as skilled or as subtle in their fingers as they find in India to-day. But the question has always

been, and will be for some years to come, how to employ the existing skilled labour into profit-yielding agencies; how to form them units of great commercial organizations. Art can only thrive as handmaid to commerce, and without a commercial outlet art must starve, however excellent it may be. Although art schools and technical institutions had existed for a long time in India, not one of the students had distinguished himself by producing any work of art of any note, while admirable works of art which they saw every day in India in muslins, in metallic work, or in stone were all executed by men who never had been to any art schools or technical institutions. The Indian caste and family systems supplied the much-desired instruction in art by apprenticing methods which should be revived and encouraged, instead of collecting a few uninitiated youths into art schools, who attended such schools with a motive of securing employment in any office rather than the advancing of arts in India. The lecturer defined the three sources of activity in a man, the head, the hand, and the heart, and he said that the hand was the most important in India. Mr. Wagle said his esteemed friend Dr. John Pollen, who followed the lecturer, placed the heart as the most important, but he put the head as the most important, because it was most needed in India. What they just now required was the head, which could collect all the splendid artisans of India together, and make them work for a commercial purpose. They must be led into commercial grooves. Art was frittered away if they only looked at it from an æsthetic point of view. It was only when it was organized on a commercial basis that any art could succeed.

The other point which the lecturer has brought out, and which in Mr. Wagle's opinion was most destructive to the interests of the industrial development of India, was about the Indian National Congress collecting funds to finance joint-stock enterprise. The great drawback in Indian commercial life was the attempt to raise industrial concerns on partly charitable or partly patriotic impulses of the people. When such sentiments of charity and patriotism were mixed up with business, business was doomed to failure. The National Congress was a political body of men, and it did not always happen that political bodies in any country knew the details of commerce in all its shades and aspects. While the political man worked on the sentiments of the people, the commercial man had to work on the selfishness and money-getting ambition of the people. What he should like to advocate was exactly the reverse of what the lecturer had suggested—namely, that the Congress should leave the question of industry and commerce untouched in the hands of good and reliable financiers, merchants, and commercial experts of the country. All commercial enterprises must be established on the profit-yielding merits of the several concerns, and the question of public spirit or patriotism should be kept as far away from them as possible.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, said that he would like, on behalf of all present, as well as himself, to express their sense of the excellent, sympathetic, and intelligent lecture which they had heard. There was little in the lecture that was open to criticism, but there was one idea that had occurred to him in listening to

it, not in the nature of criticism, but merely as an interesting point, which, he had no doubt, was familiar to them all. The lecturer seemed to him to have rather confused a philosophical term which had various meanings as it was variously applied. He objected to the idea that England was the corporate country as compared with India as the individualistic country. He thought the absolute opposite was the fact. There was no country in the world where individualism was so much the life and soul of the people as England. America was in very much the same condition. If they compared England with any other country in Europe, they would see that in England every one lived his own life, and did very much as he chose—thought what he liked and said what he liked. India was the corporate country. The family in India was infinitely more of a close corporation than it was in England, where family ties to-day seemed hardly to exist. Above the family there was the village community, which was a very close corporation, and above that, and dominating all, was the vast corporate body of caste, which was the great social entity. The great social factor of India was caste, and that in its various forms presented corporate action and force, which in England did not exist at all. There was no doubt, in art especially, that highest form of individualism which was found in England in the Middle Ages, as it was in India 200 years ago. The artist was the individual who took the material, the gold, or whatever it was, and patiently worked till it was an object of beauty, representative of the artist's idea, and careless of the uninstructed judgment of the public, or of the possible price it might bring in the market. That was art, and without that spirit there was no art whatever in anything that the industrial workers produced. (Applause.) The artist put his soul into the work. That was the best form of individualism in art, and that the Government could never influence and never touch. Though the Government could do much with regard to some industrial undertakings, yet as soon as the Government touched art they withered it. The Government had no sympathy with art. He would ask them to look round London, to look at the mean and smoke-grimed buildings which represented the art, and the devotion to art, of the British Government. It was only the other day that they cleaned the statues. They had been neglected for generations. They would see dirt and grime on every public building in London. The Government did not care about art. They built museums, but they had no art in their souls. That was the only matter as to which he desired to call attention, not to criticize or differ from the lecturer, but to give them one point which was of importance when they came to talk of artistic work. He tendered his best thanks for the exceedingly luminous, interesting, and valuable paper. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN said : I should have been tempted to break my resolution not to detain you with any remarks of my own on the subject of Mr. Das's paper by the remarks made by Mr. Coldstream on the English teaching of art in India, but Sir Lepel Griffin has said everything that I should have desired to say in reply to Mr. Coldstream, and infinitely better than I could have said it ; and I am most grateful to him for having put the



points I desired to make so clearly, and with his habitual grace of speech. I think the way in which Mr. Das has mixed up the philosophy of the question with his practical knowledge of it very unfortunate. But I suspect there was some subtlety in his adoption of this perplexing course. On the philosophy of the question all he said was in favour of England, but when he came to the practical applications of it, he was—and perfectly rightly—all in favour of India. We have blighted and destroyed Indian art wherever we have interfered with it, and the course followed by Mr. Das in his treatment of the question was a subtle way of blaming us for this without appearing to do so. That is what betrayed Mr. Coldstream into the errors of his remarks. I have listened to your lecture, Mr. Das, with the greatest pleasure, and I was particularly entertained by the subtlety of it; and I have much pleasure in tendering to you, Mr. Das, the unanimous thanks of the meeting so sympathetically and admirably moved by Sir Lepel Griffin. (Applause.)

MR. DAS said he was very thankful for the spirit in which his remarks had been received. He only wanted to explain, with regard to the joint-stock companies, that what he meant was that Congress should maintain a capital sufficient to return a dividend, so that they could get the artisan class to join in it. They should make the value of the shares one rupee or two rupees. He would be the last in the world to ask for subscriptions. Never in his life, in connexion with his industrial schools or undertakings, had he sent round the hat for subscriptions. He had done his work as long as he could with his own money, and when that failed he never cared to ask other people.

On the motion of Dr. Pollen, carried by acclamation, a vote of thanks was accorded to the Chairman.

*Note by Mr. Coldstream.*

The lecturer has directed our attention to the possibilities of individual effort in stimulating arts and industries in India. He has himself, in this direction, given an example of great value and of the highest interest. Mr. Das has encouraged and supported largely at his own cost many interesting industries in his own province of Orissa. In his art school at Cuttack the most beautiful work in silver filigree, in decoration of cocoanut with silver, in modelling in silver and platinum, in chrome tanning, shoemaking, ornamental leather-work and in weaving, has been turned out, specimens of which I have had the pleasure of inspecting. His endeavours have met with much success, and have won commendation from high authority. Sir John Woodburn received an address at his art school—a unique instance, perhaps, of a Lieutenant-Governor receiving an address from members of the artisan class.

I should like to add that in North India, too, the individual influence of civil officers has sometimes been useful in encouraging indigenous industries. Instances of successful effort in this direction were Mr. Capper's efforts in the direction of furniture upholstered with leather of local manufacture, at Gujrat, Punjab, fifty years ago, and Mr. Salmon Growse's work in the North-West Provinces,

In the Punjab district of Hoshiarpur the indigenous inlay work (ivory and camel-bone inlaid in Shisham wood, *Dalbergia Sissoo*) was, some thirty years ago, expended, somewhat unworthily, on such articles only as portable desks, kalmdans (pencases), walking-sticks, and bathing pattens (Kharaun). The workmen (a small group, hereditary craftsmen, who, perhaps, derived their art from Italians brought to India in the time of Shah Jahan) were asked to apply their art to the decoration of panels for doorways and furniture, tables, buffets, etc. The photograph of a small octagonal table (Turkish or Egyptian coffee table) at the instance of Lady James Lyall, was furnished them, and a similar table was produced decorated all over with this indigenous inlay work. It was the progenitor of hundreds, probably thousands, as such tables are to be seen in the London stores to-day, and are pieces of furniture of a highly decorative nature. The art was applied at the same time to many other articles of furniture, and the industry continues. Here a real art-work was directed to more useful purposes than it had hitherto been used for; there was little or no interference with the art (though the workers were told, in some cases, and by way of variety) to spread their designs more sparingly, and not to cover the wood surface so closely as they were inclined to do, and a greatly increased market for their wares opened out.

Another effort made in Hoshiarpur district was the attempt made to domesticate the Tassar silkworm, indigenous there and throughout a great part of the Submontane. The conclusion reached was thus stated in the concluding paragraph of my report on the experiments, dated March 3, 1884: "On the whole, though I cannot say I have absolutely ascertained the conditions of success, I have seen so much in the course of my experiments as to make me believe it possible that a kind of cottage industry of rearing Tassar, requiring absolutely no capital, and capable of being conducted by women and children, may some day arise, if pains are taken by experiment and the offer of rewards, to ascertain these conditions and to introduce the industry to the notice of the natives. The wild tribes of Central India rear the cocoons; why should not the cottagers in the Punjaub Hills? The insect is indigenous in both places, and its food can be provided to any extent by planting at almost no cost."

## ANNUAL MEETING.

THE annual meeting of the East India Association was held at the Office, 3, Victoria Street, Westminster, on July 22, at 3.30 p.m. Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., was in the chair.

The report and accounts were unanimously adopted, after a short discussion, in which Mr. C. E. Buckland, Mr. Coldstream, Sir Frederic Fryer, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, and Mr. J. B. Pennington took part.

The three retiring members of Council were duly re-elected.

On the proposal of Colonel Yate, seconded by Sir Frederic Fryer, Lord Reay was unanimously re-elected President of the Association for the ensuing year.

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## ANNUAL REPORT.

THE Council of the East India Association submit the report and accounts of the year 1906-1907.

The question of the best means of increasing the influence and the number of members of the Association has been the subject of frequent consideration, and it has been suggested that friendly negotiations with other societies having aims and objects akin to our own might result in the formation of one strong and numerous body possessing an authority which cannot belong to several

small and, in the matter of members, competing associations. Application has been made to the Secretary of State for such assistance as might encourage the inauguration of these negotiations. We are very desirous of increasing the number of our Indian members, especially Law and University students, and measures are now being taken in this direction. The Council earnestly invite the co-operation of all members of the Association in inducing such of their friends who are interested in, or have served in, India to join our ranks. They would further appeal to the ruling Princes and wealthy classes in India to assist the work of the Association by donations or annual subscriptions.

In conjunction with the South Africa British Indian Committee, the Association endeavoured to procure the cancelment of an Ordinance passed by the Transvaal Government, imposing rigorous and degrading conditions on British Indians resident in the Transvaal; and the Chairman headed two influential deputations of English and Indian gentlemen, including members of both Houses of Parliament, to the Secretaries of State for the Colonies and India. Their representations were successful, and the objectionable Ordinance did not receive the authorization of the Imperial Government. Since the grant of independent government to the Transvaal, the Ordinance has again been introduced in the local Parliament and passed into law, though it may be hoped that the strong expression of opinion by the English Committees and the Secretaries of State may induce the Transvaal authorities

to administer the law in a reasonable and humane manner.

A strong Committee of the Association drew up a report, which has been submitted to the Secretary of State for India, on the position of Indian students in England, and the desirability of some kindly supervision of their conduct and assistance to them in the difficulties and embarrassments of a strange country.

The subject of the destitute condition of large numbers of Indians discharged from plantations in Ceylon has engaged the attention of the Council.

The papers read during the year before the Association were the following :

July 2, 1906. S. S. Thorburn, Esq., "An Indian Militia for India's Defence." Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

July 11, 1906. Hon. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E., "Self-Government for India." Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., in the chair.

July 16, 1906. Arthur Sawtell, Esq., "India and Anglo-India : Some Unofficial Impressions." Sir M. M. Bhownaggrée, K.C.I.E., in the chair.

November 6, 1906. Navroz M. Parveez, Esq., "Indo-British Trade with Persia." Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

November 12, 1906. Theodore Morison, Esq.,

"The Association of Indians with the Government of India." Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

November 26, 1906. L. W. Ritch, Esq., "The Burden of the British Indian in South Africa." Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., in the chair.

February 22, 1907. J. D. Anderson, Esq., "Constitutional Problems in India." Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

March 15, 1907. S. M. Mitra, Esq., "India and the New Fiscal Scheme." Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., in the chair.

May 7, 1907. Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E., "Imperial Preference or Cobdenism or Swadēshi—Which is Best for India?" A. Bonar Law, Esq., M.P., in the chair.

June 3, 1907. R. F. Chisholm, Esq., F.M.U., F.R.I.B.A., "Indian Pottery." Sir Arundel Arundel, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

June 28, 1907. J. B. Pennington, Esq., "Indian Administration: Some Suggestions by an Old District Officer." Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., M.P., took the chair in the unavoidable absence of Lord Wenlock, who had consented to preside.

The following members of Council retire by rotation. They are eligible and offer themselves for re-election:

Sir Frederic W. R. Fryer, K.C.S.I.

Sir Seymour King, K.C.I.E.

Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E.

The following have been elected members of the Association :

Robert F. Chisholm, Esq.

J. D. Anderson, Esq.

H. D. Cama, Esq.

Gerald Ritchie, Esq.

Col. E. R. J. Presgrave, D.S.O.

Mr. J. W. Fox, Mr. W. M. Kirkpatrick, Mr. Arthur Sawtell, Mr. Shakir Ali, and Mr. F. H. Skrine, have resigned their membership.

Mr. Robert Sewell has resigned his membership of Council.

The Council regret to record the death of Mr. William Martin Wood, who was connected with the Association from the time it was constituted.

Income for the year ending April 30, 1907, including balance at bankers' of £54 19s. 6d. and £250 deposit withdrawal, £609 5s. 8d. Expenditure, £406 6s. 4½d. Balance at bankers' and in hand, £202 19s. 3½d.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

"IMPERIAL PREFERENCE, OR COBDENISM, OR SWADÉSHI—  
WHICH POLICY IS BEST FOR INDIA?"

SIR,

I was obliged to leave before the end of the discussion\* on Sir Roper Lethbridge's paper, and, in any case, I should not have ventured to express any very decided opinion on such a knotty question as preferential tariffs, except, perhaps, so far as to say that I was not convinced even by Mr. Bonar Law's admirable speech, much less by Sir Roper's paper, as to which I should have liked to ask a few questions and make a few general remarks. To begin with, I do not see that Sir Roper's title, "Cobdenism or Swadéshi—which Policy is best for India?" is so much clearer than "Free Trade or Protection?" "Swadéshi," it seems to me, is not incompatible with "Cobdenism," or even "Free Trade," as long as it means only a sentimental or patriotic preference for the goods of one's own country. If anyone chooses to pay more for a bad English piano when he can get a good German one for the same money, or if he prefers the inferior woollen undergarments, which were all we could get till Dr. Jaeger taught English buyers to prefer pure wool, and so, at last, convinced the home trader that honesty was the best policy, Free Trade does not interfere in any way with his "Swadéshi" predilections; but when a man with so perverse a taste proposes to put a prohibitory duty on German pianos or Jaeger garments so as to compel other people to buy inferior pianos and adulterated woollen underclothing, then Free Trade and Cobdenism, to say nothing of morality, alike forbid. Cobden, moreover, would certainly not have objected to a commercial treaty with every nation such as he actually arranged with France, and to such treaties "Free Trade"

\* See our July number, pp. 151-166.



could certainly not object. What *all* the effects of "Preferential Tariffs" would be no one really seems to know, and I doubt if even Mr. Bonar Law could tell us; but one thing such tariffs would certainly do, and are, perhaps, intended to do: they would greatly annoy foreigners with whom we have trade dealings, and involve us in endless tariff wars. It still seems to me that all such wars are bad for both parties concerned, and that in commerce, as in politics, conciliation is the better plan. I have never been able to understand how further restraints on commerce in the shape of Customs could increase the bulk of trade, and I have no doubt that what India really wants is not some peddling preference against foreign manufacturers, but a 10 per cent. duty on *all* imported cotton goods, with *no* countervailing excise duty on home manufactures. Such a perfectly reasonable duty, by the by, would just enable her to get rid of the salt tax altogether; but I agree that there is no chance of such a tariff being allowed, though I doubt if even such a 10 per cent. duty at Indian ports would cause "ruin and starvation throughout England and Scotland."

How irrigation can best be stimulated by Imperial Preference (even with initial capitals) is more than I can see, though to Sir Roper it is so "obvious" as to need no demonstration. Obviously to *me* all that is necessary for the steady *extension* of irrigation is a world-wide *free and open market* such as India has at present; and if Germany or any other foreign nation competes with us in the Indian wheat or jute market, and (perhaps) pays a higher price, so much the better for India. To restrict her market within the borders of the British Empire, wide as they are, does not seem likely, at first sight, to increase her sales; and as to her more extended trade being "at the mercy of the foreigner," it is difficult to find suitable terms in which to characterize such an assumption.

Sir Roper says that Imperial Preference is "*absolutely necessary* for the stability of Indian finance"; but surely

Indian finance is all right as long as India is at liberty to sell her produce in any of the markets of the world, and is not restricted to a limited number. If foreigners pay the best price they will no doubt get the bulk of the Indian raw produce; and the suggestion that they *might* destroy that trade by hostile tariffs is evidently a mere *brutum fulmen*; because Sir Roper himself, to say nothing of Sir Edward Law, shows conclusively over and over again that it is practically impossible for them to do anything of the kind. The merchants of India wouldn't send oil seeds to Germany unless they got a better price for them; and if they get better terms from Germany, why should they not be allowed to accept them?

The truth is, as pointed out by Mr. Arthur Elliott in the *Times* of May 9, the real question is still between Protection and Free Trade (or "Free Imports"). "Protection," like Proteus, hides itself cunningly under "various aliases, such as Fair Trade, 'Colonial' (or Imperial) Preference"; but what it really means is "*Protection for, and obligation to buy, inferior or dearer goods.*" "Why, then," it is always asked, "have foreign countries not followed us, and become, as Cobden said they would, Free Traders?" Simply because protected manufacturers in those countries, whose interest (as Mr. Chamberlain's brother has often pointed out) it is to keep up high prices to the detriment of the public, at once combine, if a Government moves in the direction of Free Trade, to threaten that Government, which is well aware of the fate that awaits it, and so elects to leave the mischievous tariff alone rather than be ousted from power and give place to its opponents, who are pledged to maintain the tariff as the condition of coming into office. It is not at all certain that the majority in any country is really in favour of Protection, except so far as "infant industries" are concerned; and even in America, I believe, it is the case that in the only election which turned on a direct issue between Free Trade and Protection Free Trade won the day.

Sir Roper scores a distinct point over the Russian retaliatory duty on Indian tea, but surely his really "astounding figures" prove also (as Sir James Mackay pointed out) that even exorbitant duties do not impede trade half so much as one might expect.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

July, 1907.

#### THE LAND REVENUE OF INDIA.

SIR,

In an article of the *Madras Hindu* of the 20th ult. I find various commendatory remarks on General Fischer's article on the Indian Budget Debate for 1906, published in the issue of the IMPERIAL AND ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW for January last (pp. 54-67), which I should like to comment upon. The general purport of the article in question is that the so-called land revenue of India is in reality a most heavy tax on the resources of the people, and not a rent which the State levies as the owner of all the land in the Empire in a supposed spirit of Socialism. General Fischer bases his arguments on an article in the *Nineteenth Century Review* for June, 1906, entitled "Possibilities of Peasant Ownership in Sussex," in which a passage occurs to the effect that the State in India, like all States deeply in debt and in constant need of money, unable, except here and there, to devote any capital to improvements, unwilling to remit rent to tenants in arrears, and raising the assessment at short intervals wherever the value of the land has been improved, *however little, by the occupier's labour*—that it is, in fact, a shameless rack-renter—with the result that its tenants are of all tenants *the poorest in the world*. The Indian State is said to be, moreover, a universal absentee landlord, and, like all absentees, without bowels of compassion. Its collecting agents are not allowed to have bowels, being promoted and commended *not* according to the prosperity of the district they administer, *but* according to the revenue they raise. This picture of the relations of landlord and tenant in India is said to be a true one, but,

with the purpose, possibly, of affording some palliation for the enormity of its crimes, the system is allowed to have prevailed in all ages where the State has claimed to be the sole owner of the land by arbitrary power. It is worse than useless to say the land revenue of India is no tax or burden on the people. The State claims to have a right to a certain portion of the *produce* of the land, and knows nothing at all about rent as a *surplus* after all expenses of cultivation have been defrayed.

Here, to commence with, is the initial fallacy of the whole of the reasoning. The State, it is true, claims a portion of the produce, but where, in consequence of the infertility of the soil or the small skill of the cultivator, the total produce is known to be inferior to that in fertile soils cropped by skilled agriculturalists, a smaller proportion of the gross produce is claimed. This is in an indirect way an exaction of rent and not a claim for revenue—a fact that those accustomed to administer lands assessed to a payment in cash and not in kind are not aware of. A Kunbi, known for his skill in cultivation in Gujarát, would, for instance, pay one-third of the produce of his crop, whereas a Kolie, known as the opposite, would be charged only with one-fourth or less.

To say that the State, because it is the universal landlord, has no bowels of compassion towards its tenants is the very reverse of truth. Because it itself suffers from loss of revenue from harsh measures towards its tenants tending to throw land out of cultivation, it is above the pettiness of putting on the screw, toward which a private landlord would be prone for his own temporary benefit. The State thus does not in India begrudge remission to its tenants in consequence of loss to crops, etc., or not allow its administrators to have bowels, as here alleged. The present writer, having himself been a Settlement Officer, as well as a Collector of Land Revenue, can vouch for the fact that assessments are not raised whenever the value of land has been improved by the occupier's labour; on the contrary, it is

laid down by law that such improvements as, for instance, the provision of a well for irrigation where none was in existence before shall not be taxed. Not only is this the case, but he can quote instances where existing taxation on wells for irrigation that had been levied for years as a matter of course has been remitted by the land irrigated being charged only as first-class unirrigated land—an almost quixotic carrying out of the principle that the occupier's or his ancestors' labour or benefit conferred by their capital should not be taxed.

Again, does not the fact of railways constructed out of State capital, so that food can be conveyed to the remotest corners of the land in case of famine, and be thus obtainable everywhere, disprove the statement that the State in India is unable to devote capital to improvements? If General Fischer can have honestly stated as truths such averments as those given by the writer in the *Nineteenth Century Review* which he has quoted, his study of Indian revenue and its administration can have done him very little good.

With regard to General Fischer's remarks on the railway policy of the Government of India, is it not a fact that the first and primary consideration after that of the strategical reason that has led to the linking together of the chief towns and seats of government of the three presidencies has been to develop and improve the ryot's condition and provide the means for carrying on the chief industry, agriculture—that is, for easy access to the seaports by which surplus raw produce can be conveyed abroad for purposes of commerce and the prevention of famines; and has this not been amply proved by food being found in abundance in all parts of the country during the prevalence of all the late famines?

The present writer speaks specially for Bombay, with which he is best acquainted, in describing the system of land settlement there as an endeavour to fix the revenue on the basis of a fair rent or a tax on rent, and not as a rack-rent.

The returns of assessment of the land for a number of years are collated, and it is ascertained how far that assessment has been collected without recourse to measures of coercion, and with the result of an increase in the area of cultivation and an improvement in the condition of the people. Maximum rates being fixed on such data for the most naturally fertile descriptions of land with good markets, those rates are lowered on lands less fertile and not so favourably situated or held by cultivators of inferior skill. The theory of a tax upon rent is thus practically adhered to, and animadversions such as those of General Fischer, based, as they are, on the opinions of the writer in the *Nineteenth Century* referred to by him, may be left to the judgment of the public.

A. ROGERS,

38, CLANRICARDE GARDENS,  
LONDON, W.,

July 25, 1907.

#### THE SALT TAX.

The *West African Mail* of May 3, 1907, writes :

"The tax we impose on salt, for instance, is one of these—a tax that, both with regard to India and Africa, is not only unjust, but practically indefensible. This is no new subject with us, but, urged by the fact that in India the Government have seen fit recently to make a further decrease in the tax, we once more take up the cudgels on behalf of West Africa. Writing recently in the *IMPERIAL AND ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW*\* on the salt tax in India, Mr. J. B. Pennington said: 'My chief objection to the salt tax is that we do not know how much mischief it does to the people, the cattle, the agriculture and industries of India. We only know that a liberal supply of salt is even more necessary to life in the East than in Europe, and, as Mr. Hutchinson observed in his remarks at the meeting of the East India Association,

\* See our number for January, 1907, p. 171, in an article on "Leprosy and Fish-eating."

"In this tax *a blow is aimed at the stamina of the whole population*, and the risk is encountered of the production wholesale of certain special and most distressing diseases.'" With regard to the operations of taxation, the case of West Africa is identical with that of India. There, too, a liberal supply of salt is more essential to life than it is in more civilized and better sanitated Europe. For salt there—as we have so often pointed out—is not merely a luxury, but in many parts a scarcity, and, worse even, a minus quantity. As to the mischief that the want of this indispensable commodity does to the people, the cattle, and the agriculture of West and Central Africa, it is impossible to conjecture, but we shall not be much amiss in stating that it must be incalculable. But if moral considerations so great and so important as these will not move our legislators to abolish this infamous imposition, it is perhaps possible that commercial considerations may appeal to them. It is obvious, for example, that as a consequence of removing the tax the salt trade with West Africa would increase to double, and, indeed, eventually to three or four times its present volume. This would further result in increased employment of labour both at home and abroad, in an increase in the revenues of the steamship companies, ocean and riverine, and of the railways and other methods of transport and distribution concerned, and of the necessary influx of capital that would be required to cope with the new developments. But in addition to this, there is another very important consideration. This is that salt is a necessary article in agriculture and many industries, upon which the collection of the tax places certain inconvenient obstructions, such as bonded warehouses, permits, etc., that, besides adding to the expense, annoy and hamper the workers in these trades. Although from the standpoint of West African development this may be to some extent looking ahead, the considerations that we have pointed out are of sufficient weight and importance to justify the absolutely final removal of this short-sighted and inhuman restriction. It is certainly a

matter that, in their own interests, should be taken up and carried through by the class of all others whom it most concerns."

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THE HOTTENTOT LANGUAGE AND ITS PLACE IN  
PHILOLOGY.

The June number of the *African Monthly*—a magazine devoted to literature, history, exploration, science, art, poetry, fiction, etc. (African Book Co., Ltd., Grahams-town, Cape Colony)—contains, among other interesting and amusing articles, an essay by J. F. Van Oordt on the Hottentot language and its place in philology, showing the relation of that language with the Malayan languages of the Semang and Sakai.

A retired high official in the Malay States, and a valued correspondent (Major McNair, R.A.), writes as follows :

"I have read the paper in the *African Monthly*, by J. F. Van Oordt, on "The Hottentot Language and its Place in Philology." It is clearly a painstaking article, and the writer has well read up his subject, but it appears to me somewhat difficult to follow him in the conclusions at which he has arrived on the philological basis he has set before us.

"No doubt linguistic points are as valuable as anthropological ones, but neither give us what may be accepted as a conclusive proof, although they indicate, as he modestly points out, where our studies should be directed, so as to add to the knowledge we at present possess. I notice in the article that he casts the Jakuns of the Malay Peninsula out of his consideration in comparing their language with that of the Hottentots, and holds only to the Sakai and Semang tribes of that peninsula as models of comparison.

"These Jakuns, by the Malays, are reckoned amongst the Orang-Benúa, or men of the soil, and have certainly a very ancient origin, probably more ancient than that of the Sakai and Semang.

"It is not clear, therefore, why he puts them aside ; and



neither does he tell us whether he has been able personally to test the speech of the Sakai\* and Semang on the spot, so that he might trace whether there was any similarity in their rude speech with that of the Hottentots proper, and not the half-breed of the present day. It would have been of interest if his researches had led him to discover that in their manner of speech, especially in the use of the well-known four clicks of the Hottentots, they had approximated to some present tongue, though it must be remembered that we rather rashly compared the Bushmen with the Hottentots some years ago on account of their faecal sounds.

“ ‘Sound-changes’ in the manner of speech are, we know, often deceiving, so that it would need even more than a Grimm’s law to trace them to their common origin.

“ I think I may say that I saw both tribes of the Sakai—namely, the Sakai Jina and the Sakai Bukit, the former the more civilized, and the latter the mountaineers, for ‘bukit’ in Malay means a mountain. In neither of these rude tribes did I perceive any striking movement of the palate or tongue which had any resemblance to a click sound.

“ It is, as the writer says, a vast subject for investigation, and I can only add to my few remarks that Dr. Van Oordt has done great service to science in the paper he has given to the *African Monthly*.

“ P.S.—You will see from what I have said that I am of opinion that there is no common origin between the

\* Extract from the *Straits Budget*, June 27, 1907: “ ‘Signor G. B. Cerruti, the well-known authority on the Sakai tribes, who has been in Patani and other Siamese Malay States on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, has returned to Penang via the Muda River,’ says the *Pinang Gazette*. ‘He was pleasantly surprised to find awaiting him a souvenir left by His Majesty King Chulalongkorn of Siam with Mr. A. D. Neubronner, Consul-General for Siam. It is a silver cigarette-case, on which are engraved the Siamese royal arms and monogram. When the King passed through Penang, on his way to Europe, he expressed a desire to see some pictures of the Sakeis, and Signor Cerruti presented him with a set. Signor Cerruti saw some Semangs in Patani during his recent visit to that State.’ ”

aboriginal Malay and the true Hottentot. I am quite aware that the Malays in times remote migrated to Madagascar, though perhaps not to Africa. The coast names on the east of this island of Madagascar are many of them clearly in the Malay language, such as 'Manambatu,' or Six Stones, and others. The Malays may be traced more in Tabrobane and along Arabia coasts in times gone by."

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#### COTTON CULTIVATION IN INDIA.

The British Cotton-Growing Association having liberally offered to the Government of India the sum of £2,500 a year, for at least four years, for the extension and improvement of cotton cultivation in India, the Government cordially accepted the offer, and has promised to inform the Association from time to time as to the details of the scheme adopted, and the way in which the money is to be distributed. The experiments and mode of cultivation are under the control of the Inspector-General of Agriculture of India (see Parliamentary Paper, House of Commons, November 7, 1906).

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

THE CLARENDON PRESS ; OXFORD.

1. *A Short Account of the Land Revenue, and its Administration in British India ; with a Sketch of the Land Tenures*, by H. B. BADEN-POWELL, C.I.E., late one of the Judges of the Chief Court of the Panjab. With map. Second edition, revised by T. W. HOLDERNESS, C.S.I. The first edition of this valuable work appeared in 1894, while the author was alive. It is a most useful handbook to those who may not have had the advantage of studying the author's larger work of three vols., titled "The Land System of India." Mr. Holderness, in a prefatory note to this edition, says : " In revising the text of the first edition, I have felt it due to the lamented author of the work to confine alterations and additions to administrative and legal details which necessarily in process of time undergo change. In its main features the Land Revenue system of India is the same as it was twelve years ago, when this work was compiled. But in the interval there has been a good deal of legislation affecting the Land Revenue and the Tenancy systems of the several provinces, and much has been done to improve the administrative machinery, and to adapt it to the novel conditions. Thus in the domain of law, the Land Revenue and the Tenancy Acts of the United Provinces have been recast ; the Central Provinces have received a new Tenancy Act ; in Bengal the Tenancy Act has been extensively modified, as regards the settlement procedure ; and in Upper Burma the Land Revenue Regulation has been fundamentally amended to meet the altered conditions of the province. Again, in the Panjab the establishment of irrigation colonies, on an enormous scale, in the districts formerly waste, has led to new administrative expedients in making grants of Crown lands ; and in that province also where the expropriation of the peasant pro-

prietary classes, through indebtedness, had become a grave political evil, legal restrictions have lately been placed on the power of members of these classes to alienate their lands. Lastly, a succession of severe droughts, necessitating extensive relief measures for all classes of the community and directing attention to the land system of the country, has led to an exhaustive investigation of the whole subject of the assessment and collection of the Land Revenue, and has resulted in a series of important orders issued by Lord Curzon's Government. The 'Land Revenue' Resolution of January 16, 1902, the 'Suspensions and Remissions' Resolution of March 25, 1905, and the 'Land Improvements' Resolution of May 24, 1906, constitute a complete exposition of the principles on which the Land Revenue administration is for the future to be conducted." To add to the usefulness of the present edition is a map, showing by colours the different kinds of Land Revenue settlements, permanent, temporary, village, and other settlements in Bengal, Benares, North Madras, and Oudh.

2. *An Historical Geography of the British Colonies. Vol. VI. Australia.* By T. D. ROGERS, Barrister-at-Law, formerly Stowell Fellow of University College, Oxford. Part I.: Historical. Part II.: Geographical. With maps and indices. The history begins with the prehistoric knowledge of the Pacific, Spanish, Portuguese, English, and Dutch explorers, privateers and companies, until at last "the history of the Pacific forms an inseparable whole; henceforth, separate parts of it begin to have a separate history of their own. Up to this point the history of the Pacific is the history of all Europe, or of two or three European powers running abreast or pulling different ways in the Pacific;" hence the author gives a succinct history of the Pacific down to the present time, including the New Hebrides and the Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth. There are maps illustrating the author's history, and an excellent index. Part II. is geographical, embracing Australasia, New Zealand, and Islands of the Pacific. The

whole volume is a compact compilation (with maps and index), most readable and useful, from the best authorities on the various phases of information in the history and geography of the great Southern Dominion of the British Empire.

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A. CONSTABLE AND CO., LTD.; LONDON.

3. *Natives of Northern India*, by W. CROOKE, B.A., of the Bengal Civil Service (retired). With thirty-two illustrations. This is one of the interesting volumes of the series "The Native Races of the British Empire"—very readable and well illustrated. The reader will obtain by its perusal a glimpse of the uncivilized races of Northern India, even better than those who have served in India, but located in a particular district. It would appear from the editor's preface that Germany is far ahead of England in affording information as to "native races from a political and commercial, no less than from a scientific, point of view. In twenty-five years the Berlin Museum has accumulated ethnographical collections more than ten times as large as those of the British Museum, and the work of collection goes on incessantly." The present volume is devoted to a description of the "environment, race types, social and industrial life, and religious beliefs of the people of Northern India;" the second chapter to a description of the ethnical elements of prehistoric races; the subsequent twelve chapters to the tribes of the Northern and Southern Hills—the castes of the plains, their agricultural, commercial, and industrial pursuits; the village and its industries; the criminal and vagrant tribes; home life and occupation of women; child life, its games and amusements; the birth, death, and marriage rites; popular religion and beliefs, and magic shamanism and witchcraft. There are also an interesting and useful bibliography and a minute index. The author has placed before the general reader the result of his experience and research in an interesting and instructive manner, enhanced by excellent illustrations.

4. *Natives of Australia*, by N. W. THOMAS, M.A., author of "Kinship Organization and Group-Marriage in Australia," etc. With thirty-two full-page illustrations and one map. This elaborate and exhaustive history is one of the volumes of the series entitled "The Native Races of the British Empire." The illustrations are excellent and the map is useful, both enhancing the value of the work. There are also a bibliography and an index. The introductory chapter deals geographically as to area, ocean depths, the mountains, river system, rainfall, temperature, the flora, fauna, and the early theories as to the origin of Australia and its natives. The author gives a minute description of the physical appearances of the various races and tribes, their language, their so-called arts, science, and crafts; their food, amusements, laws and order; social organizations, marriage ceremonies and rites; their beliefs and religions, magic and myths. The volume is full of interesting information both to the anthropologist and general reader.

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ALFRED FORKE; BERLIN. LUZAC AND CO.; LONDON.

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ; LEIPSIK.

5. *The Lun-Hêng, Part I., Philosophical Essays of Wang Ch'ung*, translated from the Chinese and annotated by PROFESSOR ALFRED FORKE, Professor of Chinese at the Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen, Berlin. This work is entitled to respectful consideration. Professor Forke at once, by this translation, places himself in the foremost rank of sinologists, with the further apparent qualification (not shared, it is regrettable to have to confess, by the undersigned) of being able to cite his Greek and Latin philosophers first-hand by way of comparison. About twenty years ago Mr. A. B. Hutchinson, in Vols. VII. and VIII. of the *China Review*, translated such of Wang Ch'ung's "Critical Disquisitions" as bore particularly upon the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and upon Wang's own personal biography; and Mr. Forke himself, in Vol. XXXI. of the Shanghai Asiatic Society's Journal

(1900), has already compared Wang Ch'ung's views on immortality with those of Plato. Mr. W. F. Mayers, whose extraordinary range of sinological knowledge, after fifteen years of study, was as wonderful as his premature death in 1878 was regrettable, was the first European writer to call peremptory attention to the transcendent genius of Wang Ch'ung, who (apart from his shortcomings in science, which were, after all, only those of his age, and fully shared by the Latins and Greeks) was certainly as vigorous and original a thinker as any Plato, Epicurus, or Lucretius—the last-named his contemporary. In those days neither law nor religion, as systems, in our modern sense, existed in China independently of government maxims. Taken as a whole, civilization and government both meant "conduct," to which the principles and rights of the successive imperial dynasties, and especially those of the Chou dynasty (B.C. 1200-200), were, or had been, the sole guide; and illustrations of how these maxims should work were drawn, in the age of Confucius and Laocius, the Conservative and Liberal reformers (B.C. 575-475), almost exclusively from the Odes, Changes, Rites, and History books, these four forming the common literary stock of Chinese feudal civilization, and as much the Bible of China as the Old Testament was of the Jews. Apparently, all educated men—*i.e.*, all nobles—knew them by heart. Ever since the date (B.C. 842) when accurate and detailed history begins, the central imperial power had gradually drifted into the rival hands of contending feudatories, and it had been the task of Laocius the Radical and Confucius the Monarchist to attempt the restoration of peace and order, according to their respective lights, by appeals to this Bible, and by interpretations of their own. They failed; and alongside of their failure sprang up other schools of Legists, Nomists, Diplomats, Universalists, and what not, each group of which had their specifics for the all-pervading malady of political unrest. In other words, China of the Yellow River was growing in wealth, territory, population,

trade, and intelligence; she was absorbing China, as we now see it, just as Rome of the Tiber was at the same moment gradually absorbing Europe. Then the powerful half-Chinese and half-Turkish power of Ts'in, after centuries of manœuvring for "position," descended like a bolt upon her more orthodox and more purely Chinese colleagues, annihilated the feudal empire of Chou, organized a centralized system, much as we at present know it, and attempted, by burning the books and massacring the scholars, to destroy the whole incubus of Confucian precedent—*i.e.*, of the Chou ritualistic and class-rights theory of government. The Ts'in dynasty bit more than it could chew; its Taoist ideals were good for breaking up an empire, but its hatred of Confucianism was incompatible with the maintenance of empire. It was reserved for the early Han dynasty (200 B.C. to A.D. 20) and second Han dynasty (A.D. 20 to 200) to digest and purify the mass of seething human material thus loosely cast into the political pot or crucible. Wang Ch'ung lived just at a period when the ruling powers had definitely and irrevocably concluded that Confucius's system was easier for them as autocrats than that of Laocius. On the other hand, Laocius's sublime philosophy, which was from the beginning too abstract and too unpractical to "catch on" with the busy and practical multitude, had already been smothered in a mass of legend and superstition: it had thus lost caste. Buddhism was first officially heard of in A.D. 65, just at the time when Wang Ch'ung was at his best. Although he mentions the reign of the Emperor Ming Ti (who first introduced Buddhist priests and literature into China) as a period of "strange omens and portents," and shows perfect acquaintance with the fact that China had already, for two centuries, known of Bactria (a nest of Buddhism) and Turkestan—in fact, the father of the author of the "Early Han Dynasty History," published under Ming Ti's patronage, was his tutor—Wang Ch'ung had manifestly never even heard either of India or of Buddhism, nor had Buddhism yet really made any



headway in China; and thus his *Lun-Hêng* or "Balance of Thought," which boldly criticizes everything the Chinese had ever known or written in the way of law, religion, ritual, government, travel, and so on, possesses the inestimable advantage of having been written before religion of any kind properly so-called had ever dawned upon the Chinese mind. Ancestral ritualism was their only religious ideal, and there was neither a church, nor a temple, nor worship of any other kind in China.

In 1900 Dr. Forke suggested that Wang Ch'ung might in a way be compared with Voltaire; but as a matter of fact, he was a man of much higher and purer individual character than Voltaire, of whose wit and humour, on the other hand, he was entirely destitute. Nor had he half the humbug and imposture to denounce that Voltaire had. The Chinese philosophers were never either spiteful or contemptible, even though their beliefs and dogmas may have occasionally excited hostility, not to say ridicule. None of them ever persecuted mere opinion. In common with nearly all Chinese philosophical authors, except Chwang-tsz the wag and Lieh-tsz the wonder-monger, Wang Ch'ung took everything *au grand sérieux*; indeed, in the whole history of Chinese ancient literature there is not a single author who, like Voltaire, descends on occasion to spiteful buffoonery, grossness, and nastiness in order to gain a quibbling point or secure vulgar applause. A great deal of what Wang Ch'ung says may not unfitly be compared with the "Novum Organum" of Bacon. "Straight thinking" is the motto of Wang Ch'ung throughout, and he spares no one, not even Confucius and Mencius. It is for this reason that, whilst admitting his genius, the conservative Chinese censure and taboo him; he always has been, and still is, under a popular cloud and an imperial frown, just as Rousseau and Voltaire are, at least nominally, anathema to Divine-right kings and good Catholics, many of the more intelligent of whom, nevertheless, enjoy "a good read" of their naughty books just the same, on the sly.

It would really not be an exaggeration to compare Wang Ch'ung, in some respects, with Darwin himself. If not, what are we to say to a Chinese philosopher who, over 1,800 years ago, stoutly maintains that man is like any other animal; that men have no more provable ground for claiming souls and immortality than "the other animals" have? Even if one does not know a word of Chinese, has never read a line of any philosophy, and has never reflected one instant upon life and eternity, Wang Ch'ung's discourses upon consciousness and dreams, upon the relation of soul to life, life to body, lunacy, decay of mental power, sickness and death, must be both intelligible and vivid to any robust mind; he is not without foolish belief in omens and oracles, but his defects are not those of the will, but of his training. Dr. Forke had originally intended only to pull all the plums out of the pudding for us, and accordingly the present 580 pages merely give us the forty-four purely philosophical disquisitions; but happily, "some of the leading sinologues" have in the meantime pointed out to him the desirability of having a complete version of Wang Ch'ung's work, and he tells us in a final note that he is now engaged upon the remaining half—*i.e.*, over forty chapters more. As a minor and obscure member of the sinological corpus, I beg to congratulate the learned professor upon his wise decision, and if the venerable editor of the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW will only favour me with the second part as promptly as he has done with the first, and allow me the liberal space which he denies me to-day, I hope to be able to do better justice to so noble a work.

There are a good many misprints, teutonicisms, and minor points susceptible of emendation. The "disquisitions" practically take cognizance of all the striking lessons of Chinese history as known up to 1,800 years ago: there is, of course, not the faintest suggestion anywhere that Laocius was a fictitious personage, and the Chinese author even specifically alludes to the "13,000 chapters" of then known literature (including Laocius's book) as subsequently

given under seven heads in the "Han History"; he even foretells immortality for its author, his friend Pan Ku. One chapter is devoted to an examination of the sources of history. Nothing could be plainer than that, when Wang Ch'ung wrote, in A.D. 84-98, the fiercest criticisms would have been poured by him upon anything like imposture, if imposture had in the remotest degree suggested itself to him, as, for instance, in the case of the Taoist classic.

On page 223 Professor Forke, curiously enough, translates, "wrote it all down, and kept the paper in a trunk." This was in 650 B.C., long before even silk was used for writing upon, and 700 years before paper was invented. One other matter: it is a pity that he could not make up his mind to omit further allusion to his unfortunate paper of 1904 upon the "Taoist goddess, *Si-wang-mu*, the Emperor of China, and the *Königin von Saba*." I have not yet had the pleasure of reading the original of this extraordinary account of a Chinese Emperor's supposed visit to Ethiopia and Arabia Felix in 950 B.C. or thereabouts; but, apart from the fact that Professor Chavannes has, with pitiless logic, proved the quite untenable nature of so wild a theory, I am independently quite certain that it is impossible from every point of view—geographical, historical, and political.—E. H. PARKER.

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JOHN GRANT; EDINBURGH, 1906.

6. *History of India from the Earliest Times to the End of the Nineteenth Century, for the Use of Students and Colleges*, by H. G. KEENE, C.I.E., Hon. M.A. Oxon., author of "The Fall of the Mughal Empire," etc. Vols. I. and II. New and revised edition. In this work the publisher has produced a revised version of a book published in 1892. The new edition is much improved, corrected throughout, and continued down to the end of Lord Elgin's administration. Each volume is preceded by a copious chronological analysis and furnished with a full index.

The author has given his reasons for not prolonging the

history to a later period. He points out that unsolved problems, and controversies which are still burning, belong to the province of the journalist, not to that of the historian. As problems, however, succeed problems, and new ones sometimes throw old ones into the shade, a second edition, if called for, might warrant the author in advancing further downwards, with due precaution, nearer the present.

The plan of the work would appear to be unique; disregarding, for the most part, the statements and opinions of other writers on the subject, Mr. Keene has had recourse, so far as might be, to documents contemporaneous with the times under notice, and has endeavoured to strike a balance, when such evidence proved to be conflicting. The work consists of twenty-six chapters, each divided into three sections; and to every section is appended a list of the authorities on which the record is based, to which the student is referred for further details.

Obviously, the story of so vast a country, during nearly twenty centuries, could not be adequately compressed into the space at the author's command; but the student who consults the references will, it is thought, have his curiosity abundantly satisfied. The first volume concludes with a summary, dwelling upon the peculiar dangers which have always beset the Indian races, and the extent to which those dangers have been minimized by the British occupation.

At the end of the second volume will be found an appendix including an account, from original records, of the genesis of the unfortunate war in Afghanistan, under the feeble rule of Lord Auckland; followed by a note on Indian law, and another on important modern works relating to India. To a certain extent, a book of the nature indicated appeals mostly to specialists; but the dignity of what is called a standard work is reached by the approbation of those who are enabled, through their own knowledge, to judge of its value. When this approbation is secured, then, without any popular run, a book takes its place on

library shelves, to remain there, and to be sought out by all who hereafter may desire to take up the subject to which it is devoted.

It seems to us that Mr. Keene's history fills a distinct place of its own, and occupies a position not exactly reached by any other publication. And as a summary of what the author calls the *formative* facts of Indian record it should become indispensable to all students of the topic.

And those students surely should increase, day by day, in number; so that the reproach may be taken away that is sometimes expressed, that India is an empire which the British govern and *forget*. It can no longer be overlooked with safety.

The volumes are handsomely got up, and supplied with maps, plans, and diagrams.

With a literary man at the head of the India Office, such a production should not lack full encouragement.

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HURST AND BLACKETT, LIMITED; LONDON.

7. *Under the Sun*, by PERCIVAL LONDON.—It is a real pleasure to read a book of impressions of travel like the one before us. Mr. Landon is an accomplished pen-painter, and his descriptions of Indian cities are the best we have yet seen. The quotation on his title-page is Sir John Maundeville's dictum: "In Ynde ben fulle manye dyverse contrees," and he shows his readers the truth of it by taking them from Bombay to Darjiling, from Rangoon to Hyderabad, Kochin to Buddh Gaya, and placing many other Indian localities, presidencies, cities, and districts before them. Not only is the writer's descriptive style excellent, but he has the rare power of selection. He does justice to the part the Parsees—"the Huguenots of the East"—have had in the making of Bombay, and he sees the archæological value of the Syrian Church at Kottayam. The wonders of Udaipur and Delhi are wonderfully unfolded by him, as are the little exploited antiquities of Madras and Southern India. He was one of the few

Europeans present at the pilgrimage of the Tashi Lama to Buddh Gaya, and gives an admirable account of the ceremony in 1905. The book is beautifully illustrated with many plates, some in colour and some in photo-gravure, which, even were the letterpress less interesting, would make it of value. The closing chapter is somewhat detached in subject from the rest, being the author's theory of the latter days of Nana Sahib, who, according to Mr. Landon, did not die in the Terai in 1858, but fled with his wife Kasi Bai, and the widow of the Peshwa, to Nipal, and thenceforth lived a vagrant life until at least 1870. After that legend has again to be resorted to, and the author inclines to think that Nana Sahib was really the half-witted mendicant who claimed the name, and died near Rajkot in 1895.—A. F. S.

T. WERNER LAURIE; LONDON.

8. *Lotus Land*, by P. A. THOMPSON. In this book is given a full and very complete account of the land and inhabitants of Southern Siam, and it places the daily life and occupations of the Siamese people, of whom the author writes very sympathetically, after a three years' residence among them, well before the reader. The people have a reverence for authority, but, like the Burmans, are not the least servile. They are courteous, and, in spite of the frightful tortures of old times, kindly; but, being "incurably indolent," are constantly pushed aside in commerce by the more strenuous Chinese, whose influence on the Siamese population, Mr. Thompson thinks, must be for good. The reforms the present King has instituted—*e.g.*, the revival of the old system of village government—he holds are very real, and the old prayer which he gives us, among other delightful Siamese proverbs, "From fire, water, thieves, and governors, good Lord deliver us," is becoming less incisive. The Buddhism of Siam still bears many traces of Brahminism and its gods; for instance, Pra Narai (Vishnu) and his vehicle P'hya Krut (Garuda) decorate the temples. Relics

of snake-worship can be traced, and in the jungles Nature-worship still exists. The influence of the monks here, on the whole, thinks not very harmful, though the observance of rules in the monasteries is lax. Many of the festivals observed are of Brahminical origin, including the ceremonial hair-cutting. Spirits of the dead—*Pees*—need propitiation, and sometimes sacrifices of chickens are made, in spite of the Buddhist injunction to take no life—indeed, the Siamese are not very averse to taking bird-life at any time—and many charms are used. One very horrible charm to ensure invulnerability necessitates the eating of a portion of the unconsumed flesh of a cremated body. The author gives an interesting chapter on Siamese art, and some of the beautiful illustrations in the book are very valuable from this point of view; for the Siamese frescoes possess extraordinary brilliancy and wealth of detail. Camp life and rice and fish—the staple foods of the people—form two other chapters dealing with the life in the country, and the elephant hunt of Ayuthia is well described. The story of Constantine Phaulcon is told in the account of Lopburi, which was the “Louvo” of the French and the residence of the great King Narai. The author gives a narrative of his travels in several provinces, but the most interesting deal with Nakawn Chaisi, where many ancient temples exist, and with Angkor Tom, where the great Nakawn Wat still stands. That the writer made good use of his time there the drawings from the carvings at Angkor Tom, reproduced throughout the book, attest. The historical introduction deals largely with the origin of this ruined city, and the author ascribes it, as do the legends, to the Laos, who are believed to have come from Indapat-Buri.—A. F. S.

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LONGMANS GREEN, AND CO.; LONDON.

9. *Recollections of a Lucknow Veteran, 1845-1876*, by MAJOR-GENERAL L. RUGGLES. This is a simple narrative

of the career of an officer of the 19th Punjabees, who left for India at the age of eighteen, in 1845, and returned to England in 1876. He joined the 41st Native Infantry, and writes pleasantly of the regiment, the long journeys, and (at Nusserabad) the tiger-shooting. "Hear it, O Shikarees! Two 'griffs,' armed with small bores, muzzle-loaded at that, with some dogs, and setting forth to shoot a tiger." He was quartered at Delhi, and in 1849 at Mooltan, and married (at home) in 1853 to Miss Bateman, and rejoining his regiment was then transferred to Seetapore, where the news of the beginning of the Mutiny reached him. On June 1 the outbreak of Seetapore took place, and the hasty journey to Lucknow was made, and the Residency reached on June 3. We cannot have too many descriptions of the siege, and this one, though it adds little not already known, is still welcome, particularly the chapter on Incidents During the Siege, which recounts the minor miseries of that horrible time, such as the desertion of the regimental cooks and the want of clothes and washing. Of the Highlanders' entry the author writes: "As the soldiers entered through the Bailey guard-gate the enthusiasm was unbounded, the Highlanders greeting the garrison like joyous children. At the house of Dr. Fayrer, where the ladies and children were congregated, the bearded Highlanders rushed to clasp the ladies' hands; they took the children in their arms and fondly caressed them, passing them from one to the other to be caressed in turn." The march to Cawnpore is well described, the writer having to turn dhooly-bearer himself for his invalid wife. Even when there they were "not out of the wood," and were sent on to Allahabad, and then, safe at last, proceeded to Calcutta. Ill-luck pursued some of the refugees, however, and the ship in which Mrs. Ruggles was returning home was wrecked at Trincomalee. In 1859 the writer went to China with the Loodhianah Sikhs during the Taiping rebellion, and then returned to India, serving in Bhootan and in various parts of the North, and before leaving India travelled in Cashmir and Madras. He gives



descriptions of his services, interesting to Anglo-Indians, and is never verbose.—A. F. S.

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MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.; LONDON, 1907.

10. *New Ideas in India during the Nineteenth Century: A Study of Social, Political, and Religious Developments*, by the REV. JOHN MORRISON, M.A., D.D., late Principal of the General Assembly's Institution, Church of Scotland Mission, Calcutta, and Member of Senate of Calcutta University. This most interesting and admirable work is the outcome of lectures delivered by the author as the "Alexander Robertson" Lecturer in the University of Glasgow, and the "Gunning" Lecturer in the University of Edinburgh. He declares, without any hesitation, that British rule in India has proved a great blessing to the country—socially, politically, and religiously. He quotes the words of the reformer, Keshul Chunder Sen, a Bengali, who said in 1883: "Ever since the introduction of British power into India there has been going on a constant upheaval and development of the native mind, . . . whether we look at the mighty political changes which have been wrought by that . . . wonderful administrative machinery which the British Government has set in motion, or whether we analyse those deep national movements of *social* and *moral* reform which are being carried on by native reformers and patriots." The author emphasizes the opinion: "The penetration into the remotest jungle of the great organization of the British Government is a wonderful thing. By the coinage, the post office, the railways" (and he may have added the irrigation), "the administration of justice, the encouragement of education, the relief of famine—by such ways, the great organization has penetrated everywhere, in spite of faults—the greatest blessing that has come to India in her long history." He proves his thesis by exhibiting the new social ideas: woman's place; the new political, or uniting India; the new religious ideas, Indian Christians and Brāhmas; new religious organizations, Āryas

and Theosophists; the new Mahommedans, the change in Hindu doctrines; the new Theism, the beliefs in the "here and hereafter"; and the ideas of sin and salvation. Dr. Morrison has expressed in a concise and distinct form the existing thoughts and feelings of the educated and thoughtful inhabitants of India, basing his record on the historical principle, "that to know how a thing *has come to be* is the right way to know what it is and how to treat it. The history of an opinion is its true exposition." During the century the progress in the threefold sphere of social, political, and religious ideas passes the comprehension of those who are not intimately acquainted with India; but what the ultimate result will be, in the face of difficult problems yet to be solved, lies hidden in the recesses of the future, but it may be said :

"Where lies the land to which the ship would go?

Far, far ahead, is all the seamen know.

And where the land she travels from away?

Far, far behind, is all that they can say."—A. H. CLOUGH.

II. *The Lower Niger and its Tribes*, by MAJOR ARTHUR GLYN LEONARD, author of the "Camel: its Uses and Management," and "How we Made Rhodesia," etc. A very minute and exhaustive description of the various tribes in Lower or Southern Niger, their distribution, their habits and customs, and their religious beliefs and practices. Major Leonard in his ten years' experience of life among the people, and making himself one of themselves in order to discover their secret habits, feelings, and beliefs, has taken nothing for granted. His researches are marvellous. To accomplish such a result, he first of all studied animal life as it exists in the numerous streams of densely forested swamps and uplands. To get into touch with the natives it is absolutely essential first of all to get into sympathy with them, and this can only be done by living in their midst—inside their huts and in their towns—and in this way being in actual contact with the life that is lived by all classes. "Mix freely with the people," he says; "see and

hear them in the domestic and political concerns of their everyday life, more especially in counsel and debate, then the student will realize how the moods and aspects of physical Nature live and express themselves in all their thoughts and actions. Dilatory to excess in their normal condition, they will put off a palaver or await an event with that peculiarly tenacious patience which believes that there is a time for everything, and that this time or thing will come eventually, if only the philosopher waits long enough. But if either the palaver or the event is one which is distasteful to them, or for which they have no relish, they will wait until the hearing of the one or the acceptance of the other is actually forced upon them."

"Animals, according to the belief of all the Delta tribes, have souls as well as (but quite different from) men, which go away in a similar manner, but to a spirit-land that is also separate from that which is reserved for human beings only. Animals are, in fact, a lower creation altogether, lacking as they do the power of speech, therefore it is that they are not treated as if human; and for the same reason, with the exception of the dog—to whom they communicate by signs—and perhaps the familiar goat, they deny the existence of any understanding between the two creations."

These quotations give a short specimen of the author's investigations—perhaps the fullest that has ever been given of an uncivilized race of human beings. The work is divided into sections, parts, and chapters, with important appendices as to the grammatical construction of their tongues, the primitive philosophy of words, and the further mentality and the deeper humanity of names. There is a copious index and an excellent map, showing the names and the divisions of tribes in Southern Nigeria.

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MORGAN AND SCOTT; 12, PATERNOSTER BUILDINGS,  
LONDON.

12. *The Chinese Empire: a General and Missionary Survey*, edited by MARSHALL BROOMHALL, B.A., Editorial

Secretary, China Inland Mission; preface by the Right Hon. SIR E. SATOW, G.C.M.G. (formerly H.M. Minister in China). This book is at least very well named, and its contents could not be better further described than with the words printed on the paper-protecting cover. It "contains separate articles, giving a geographical, historical, and missionary survey of all the provinces of China proper, and of the dependencies of the Empire. Each article has been written by an expert, who, by long residence, is qualified to write of his district. The book contains more than fifty portraits of prominent missionaries in China." This is as it should be. Each man should say what he has actually experienced on his own ground, and what he is told by the natives locally about the history of the specific region treated by him. Of course, all men do not possess equal literary gifts, and in selecting Archdeacon Moule, Mr. Thomas Bryson, and Mr. Arnold Foster for specially favourable mention in this regard, we in no way disparage some of the other contributors, who, notably in two instances, fall very far short of those three distinguished missionaries in point of erudition or style. Nor is it to be expected that a man who sends his contribution to the editor from Urumtsi in Tartary, or from the borders of Tibet, will have his historical facts so well in hand as the comfortable member of the Asiatic Society at Shanghai, or of the Peking Literary Society, with fine reference libraries at his disposal. In a word, the historical and geographical portions of the book are the least valuable to the general student; they add nothing to what has already been told by specialists elsewhere—Father Wallays on the Early Churches of the Far East, Davidson on Formosa, Sandberg on Tibet, Hosie on Manchuria, Gilmour on Mongolia, Stein and Sven Hedin on Turkestan, Réclus and Père Richard on political and commercial geography, Tobar on the Jews, Chavannes on ancient history, Rocher on Yün-Nan—these, amongst others who have made special studies, have treated their subjects much more competently and thoroughly than the writers now under

review, who, however, it must be confessed, make no claim to scientific accuracy, and will probably be the first to admit that they have only roughly sketched their survey, which, after all, is quite good enough for popular and missionary purposes. The only important new matter introduced—new at least to the present writer—is the interesting Arab manuscript of 1173, dealing with Arab travellers to China towards the close of the ninth century, found, it would seem, at Si-an Fu, and throwing fresh light upon the history of Islam in China. In connexion with this subject it may be mentioned that, thanks to the kindness of the French Bishop at Si-an Fu, rubbings have just arrived in England of various original Si-an Fu mosque inscriptions, some dated as early as the eighth century, which leave no doubt of the hitherto contested fact that very ancient mosques still exist there. The subject will be treated in the *ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW* in due course. Meanwhile it is to be regretted that the provenance of the Arab manuscript in question and its whereabouts at the present moment are not more clearly explained again, instead of giving a vague reference to Wells Williams's notice of it (in his "Middle Kingdom," it is presumed).

The chief value of the *Inland Mission* book to Protestant missionaries, by and for whom it has been written in the main, lies in the fact that a very complete account is given of Protestant work in China and her dependencies from the very beginning—that is, exactly a century ago. We are provided with ample tables and statistics, showing the present state of affairs in each province or outlying territory. The fifty portraits of prominent missionaries, past and present, are, in some instances, only so-so—Dr. W. A. P. Martin's, for instance, being from a photograph thirty or forty years old; the full-page photo-lithographs are excellent, especially those of the ancient and mediæval imperial tombs. Though there are five indexes, on the whole, they are unsatisfactory and inadequate; in any case, it is a mistake to subdivide an index. It was originally intended to incor-

porate an atlas, or a series of good maps, in the volume ; as it is, we have to be content with a very scrubby little map of the eighteen provinces, showing nothing whatever but the sites of China Inland Mission stations. It is gratifying to notice that both editor and contributors have almost entirely refrained from girding at their "Romish" rivals. Great prominence is given to the circumstance (very creditable to him) that Sir E. Satow had written the preface, which, however, is extremely short for the prominence with which it is trumpeted. As Sir Ernest truly says, the Chinese undoubtedly owe much to the missionaries. Most persons not missionaries will be disposed to think, however, that the medical and surgical services rendered, the translation of useful books, the gradual abolition of squeezed feet, the steady war against the opium habit, the inculcation of sanitation, truthfulness, cleanliness, monogamy, punctuality, and so forth, are the good works that chiefly lie to the credit of the Protestant missionaries, and not by any means their preaching and conversive powers. Mr. Birrell's memorable words in introducing his Education Bill to the House of Commons may be well applied here. "I could wish," he said in effect, "that all could agree to teach the children how to be good, pure, clean, industrious, healthy, and useful, rather than bother their budding brains about futile dogma." Sir Ernest, however, takes an unexpectedly strong view, and one which might have come from the most zealous of missionaries: "Without security within their own borders they [the Chinese] cannot turn their attention to the most precious elements in the life of a nation—to the religion which brings us into conscious relation with the God and Father of all mankind," etc. . . . "It is to the missionaries that we must look for help in diffusing these blessings," etc.—E. H. PARKER.

JOHN MURRAY ; LONDON.

13. *From West to East*, by SIR HUBERT E. H. JERINGHAM, K.C.M.G. These "notes by the way" of an ex-colonial

Governor journeying from Paris to New York, via India and Japan, are well worth reading. The impressions of foreign travel are in themselves interesting as coming from a skilled administrator. And we read the account of Japan, as it is critical more than appreciative, with much pleasure, and we make a few extracts haphazard from his "notes." Kyoto especially fascinated him, and there he found that old Japan still existed, and there he saw the courtesy with which "Prince Konnot" and the Garter Mission were received. The reason for the erection of the gigantic Buddhas of Nara, Kamakura, and Robe puzzled him, as "the Buddha of Buddhism is not infinite. That he should be superior in merit to other good men is not enough to make him a giant in stature." The art wealth of the private collections in Japan impressed him forcibly, and he pleads for the recognition of the excellence of native Japanese work uninspired by China or Korea. The Japanese idea of chivalry, as exemplified by the Forty-seven Ronins, is criticized by him, and there is much to ponder over in his discussion of the anomalies in the Japanese character. At Nikko, in spite of its beauty, he was not impressed by the religious accessories of a horse "kept for the use of the god," the poor damsel who danced for hire, and the gong for pilgrims to call the attention of the deity. The author then visited Port Arthur, and his account of it is full of interest, and, in particular, the evidence he adduces in extenuation of General Stoessel. At Metre Hill, sixteen months after its capture, he found it still covered with grim relics of carnage and fighting. The battle-fields were followed up until he reached Mukden, which he says "bears a cachet of its own, partly Tartar, partly Chinese, and partly European; . . . but, on the whole, it is disappointing, as all Mongol towns are"; and he mentions the extraordinary way by which the Chinese have swamped Manchuria. A visit to Korea was then undertaken. "There is," we are told even there, "an Emperor of Korea, which one is apt to forget in Korea," and the

travellers saw both Saoul and Fusan, where the non-fusion of Japanese and Koreans is noticed. The influence of Bushido and the Japanese woman are discussed, and the return to Tokyo, with the homeward journey, conclude this interesting and well-illustrated book of travel.—A. F. S.

14. *The Africander Land*, by ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN, author of "The Mastery of the Pacific," etc. Mr. Colquhoun's acquaintance with South Africa dates from 1890, when he was appointed by Mr. Rhodes as first Administrator of Mashonaland. In 1904-5, after an absence of nearly two years, he revisited all our African colonies and protectorates. He applies the name "Africander" in a large and Imperial sense, as a "South African nation," and thereby has anticipated some of the political changes which have taken place since he wrote this volume, which presents a picture brought up to date "throughout by personal observation of the actual conditions prevailing, with brief reference to their historical causes, and shows the relation of each section of political or social life, and of each difficult problem to one another, and their place in the great convent of national and Imperial affairs." He sums up his narratives—his considerations and opinions—with his well-known felicity and sound sense, and classifies them under three parts: (I.) "Black South Africa"; (II.) "White South Africa"; and (III.) "On the Knees of the Gods."—(1) Nationalism and Imperialism, and (2) The Spirit of Africanderland. The four maps show at a glance the expansion of British South Africa, its physical, railway, and political phases. Mr. Colquhoun closes his interesting volume with the following pregnant observation: "The problem before us is not how to retain our oversea dominions, nor how to win the allegiance of colonies—there is no satisfactory answer to that question—but how to continue to progress in our national life. Our progress must be no one-sided thing; defence, education, commercial organization—every branch of the national life must, by degrees, be placed on a sounder footing, and my great hope that this may be eventually



accomplished lies in the awakening patriotism and increasing perception of the Imperial spirit, which, despite all mistakes and misconceptions, I believe I can see in my countrymen. The heart of the Empire beats in this city of London, and beats strongly. Nevertheless, the organic unity of the Empire can only be accomplished if we fully acknowledge the national aspirations of our kinsmen, and gradually admit them to an equal voice in Imperial affairs. But we shall achieve no measure of unity—shall progress no further in our Imperial development—unless the heart of the Empire remains sound. In retaining our vigour and developing our patriotism, we provide the best guarantee for the willing co-operation of the younger nations in a real Imperial union. The United Empire cannot be built in a day—it must grow link by link; for to rashly reconstruct our relations on a new model, or to force development in any way, might, at the present immature stage of colonial nationalism, sound the death-knell of Empire.”

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DAVID NUTT; 57-59, LONG ACRE, LONDON.

15. *Popular Poetry of the Baloches*, by M. LONGWORTH DAMES, M.R.A.S., Indian Civil Service (retired). This volume contains the translation and texts of the popular poetry of the northern variety of the Balochi language, the result of many years' labour in collecting, transcribing, and translating. The poems thus collected form a considerable body of verse which circulates orally among the Baloch tribes, "occupying the country which extends from Bolān Pass and the Plain of Kachhī (the Kachh Gandāva of the maps), through the southern part of the Sulaiman Mountains to the plains along the right bank of the Indus in the South Punjāb and North Sindh." The central part of this area is occupied by ridges of barren rock, and intervening valleys scarcely less barren. The Baloches who inhabit it are divided into many tribes and clans, for a description of whom see the author's volume,

"The Baloch Race" (the Royal Asiatic Society, 1904). In the introduction there is an interesting statement on the sources and origin of the poetry, classified under the following six heads: Heroic or Epic Ballads; Later Tribal Poems (mainly war ballads); Romantic Ballads; Love-Songs and Lyrics; Religious and Didactic Poems; Short Poems (legends, lullabies, dastánaghs and rhymed riddles). The translations are accompanied with explanatory notes. There is also a short description of the language, a glossary of rare and obsolete words, a key to the pronunciation, an alphabetical list of authors, and an index of names, including the names of persons and tribes and all geographical names. This interesting and laborious work is issued partly (700 copies) under the title of the Folk-Lore Society, and partly (300 copies) under the title of the Royal Asiatic Society.

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DIETRICH REIMER (ERNST VOHSEN); BERLIN.

16. *Kochbuch für die Tropen*, by ANTONIE BRANDEIS, 1907. This is a superior and useful cookery-book, which may prove to be of great help to Europeans who live in the tropics, where the conditions of food and housekeeping are so different from those in their own country. It is written by the wife of a high German official, who was many years Governor of the Marshall Islands. In the introduction, Madame Brandeis—who is a grand-daughter of the late Sultan of Zanzibar—tells us her experiences of housekeeping in those countries, and gives excellent advice as to making use of the rich products in vegetables and fruits, preparing them palatable and suitable for European requirements. It was at the instigation of medical men that she undertook her laudable task; for it seems to be a well-known fact that for want of relishing food in those countries Europeans often take to alcoholic stimulants, which, in course of time, have an injurious influence on health. It is a book which answers all conditions of life. It not only advises those who can afford to keep a perfect cook, but it also gives

excellent advice to those who have to educate inferior servants. The author recommends cleanliness as a chief factor of health in those climates, and warns the *débutante* housewife from being cheerfully satisfied with a native cook who boasts that he only requires a pair of modern spoons and a few saucepans for his culinary art; and she urges to give those cooks plenty of kitchen-cloths of varied stripes, so as to make sure of their respective uses. The numerous receipts contained in her book will no doubt also make it valuable in a country like England, in which so many tropical vegetables like okro and aubergines, etc., are imported. We sincerely hope the book may soon appear in English, and thus secure a wide circulation. There is a minute and handy index.—LOUISE M. RICHTER.

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T. FISHER UNWIN; ADELPHI TERRACE, LONDON.

17. *The Real Sir Richard Burton*, by WALTER PHELPS DODGE, Barrister-at-Law, author of "Piers Gaveston," etc. With a frontispiece. The author intimates in a prefatory note that his book is "not intended to compete with the various 'Lives' of Burton," but considers very accurately that there is "room for a study of Burton's career—a fascinating career of romance and hard work—the career of one of the greatest of modern Britons; . . . that there is a strong feeling that it is time to recognize the fame of the great explorer; and that it is but fair to place the name of Burton, with Livingstone and Stanley, above those of smaller men who did lesser things." The author has admirably executed his task in a work that will be an interesting monument of his hero, and will give pleasure and satisfaction to the reader. It is a really fine specimen of the picture of a man who acted up to the motto, "Honour, not honours." You see him as a boy, a man; his army life in India; his famous pilgrimage to Mecca; his explorations of Hasar; his experience in the Crimea; his great African discoveries; his romantic marriage; his consulates at

Fernando Po, Santos, Damascus, Trieste; his lesser travels and death.

In reference to his great work, "The Arabian Nights," Mr. Dodge truly says therein will be shown Burton "as a great translator, a man of almost superhuman knowledge—knowledge of Arabic and Persian, knowledge of customs, tribal rites, and Eastern ways—that leave him without a rival."

"His edition of 'The Arabian Nights' is far above all others, be they Scott's, Weil's, Payne's or Lane's. The charge made by Wright in his so-called 'Life of Burton,' that the Haji plagiarized from Payne—a charge which he endeavours to fortify by extracts in parallel columns from Burton's and Payne's editions of the 'Nights'—is ridiculous. Burton had no need to steal Payne's German inspired thunder. That there is some resemblance between certain long extracts is undeniable—a necessary resemblance in Englishing the text. Indeed, Burton once said that Payne's choice of words was so good he had made it hard for further translation; but if Burton owes anything to Payne through plagiarism, why is it that Payne's 'Nights'—which are all Payne's—have never ranked, either amongst scholars or generally, with Burton's? Why is Burton's edition the definitive edition? Burton's whole life, his long list of translations, forbids the belief that he owed more to Payne than to any Orientalist."

Mr. Dodge in his admirable history closes as follows: "No study of Burton's career, no time spent in reading his books, can fail to convince the seeker after knowledge that here was a wandering knight of King Arthur's Court—a Lancelot in modern guise. Great as an explorer, famous as an author, a renowned scholar and translator, an ethnological and anthropological authority, a linguist without a peer, Sir Richard Burton, Knight, a gentleman of Hertfordshire, takes his place—no mean one—in the Hall of Fame."

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Strand Magazine*, *The Grand Magazine*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Wide World Magazine*;—*C. B. Fry's Magazine*;—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*The North American Review*;—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Rapid Review* (C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta Street, W.C.);—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.);—*The Board of Trade Journal* (with which is incorporated the *Imperial Institute Journal*), edited by the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, E.C.; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh; Edward Ponsonby, Dublin);—*The Wednesday Review* of politics, literature, society, science, etc. (S. M. Raja Ram Rao, editor and proprietor, Teppakulam, Trichinopoly, Madras);—*The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-Law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road);—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), May, June, and July, 1907 (the Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*The Hindu* (published at the National Press, 100, Mount Road, Madras);—*The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Ltd., Toronto);—*The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* (Luzac and Co., London; Bombay Education Society's Press, Bombay);—*The Literary Digest*, which now includes *American Public Opinion* (Funk and Wagnall's Co.,

publishers, New York and London);—*Proceedings of the Council of the Governor of Bombay*, assembled for the purpose of making laws and regulations, 1906, Vol. XLIV., published by authority of His Excellency the Governor (Government Central Press, Bombay, 1907);—*The Planet: a Journal of Literary and Topical Interest* (22, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.).

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We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works: *The Chinese Language, and How to Learn it*, by Sir W. Hillier (London: Kegan Paul and Co.);—*The Strength of Nations*, by J. W. Welsford (London: Longmans, Green and Co.);—*Asiatic Studies*, by Sir A. C. Lyall (London: John Murray);—*Burma: A Handbook of Practical Information*, by Sir J. G. Scott (London: Alexander Moring, Ltd.);—*By Veldt and Kopje*, by W. C. Scully (London: T. Fisher Unwin).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—His Majesty the King has addressed the following letter to the Governor-General of India :

"BUCKINGHAM PALACE,

"August 13, 1907.

"MY DEAR VICEROY,

"I have followed with anxious interest the later course of that epidemic of plague by which India has for eleven years past been so sorely afflicted.

"The welfare of my Indian subjects must ever be to me an object of high concern, and I am deeply moved when I think of the misery that has been borne with such silent patience in all the stricken homes.

"I am well aware how unremitting have been the efforts of your Excellency's predecessors and yourself to make out the causes of the pestilence, and to mitigate its effects.

"It is my earnest hope and prayer that the further measures now being prepared by your Excellency, in consultation with zealous and able officers, may be crowned with merciful success.

"I desire you to communicate this expression of my heartfelt sympathy to my Indian subjects.

"Believe me, my dear Viceroy,

Sincerely yours,

"EDWARD R. AND I."

The Secretary to the Government of India, in a circular dated Simla, August 24, 1907, relating to the establishment of an Imperial Advisory Council and of Provincial Advisory Councils, and the enlargement of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, specifies the proposals as follows :

"1. That a Council to be called the 'Imperial Advisory Council' should be formed for purely consultative purposes.

"2. That all the members should be appointed by the Viceroy, and should receive the title of the 'Imperial Councillors.'

"3. That the Council should consist of about sixty members for the whole of India, including about twenty ruling chiefs, and a suitable number of the territorial magnates of every province where landholders of sufficient dignity and status are to be found.

"4. That the members should hold office for a substantial term—say, for five years—and should be eligible for reappointment.

"5. That the Council should receive no legislative recognition, and should not be vested with formal powers of any sort.

"6. That its functions should be purely advisory, and that it should deal only with such matters as might be specifically referred to it from time to time.

"7. That the proceedings of the Council, when called together for collective consultation, should, as a rule, be private, informal and confidential, and they would not be published, although Government would be at liberty to make any use of them that it thought proper. The Government of India believe that only confidential communications will secure frank interchange of opinion; but they are disposed to think that it might be advisable, after matters had been threshed out in confidential consultation, to provide for some public conferences, at any rate, on those occasions when the Government desires to make its motives and intentions better known, to correct misstatements, and to remove erroneous impressions."

The above was approved of by telegram from the Secretary of State for India on August 23, 1907.

To carry out these proposals a Commission has been appointed, composed of the following members:—Chairman, Sir H. W. Primrose, K.C.B., C.S.I., I.S.O. (Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue); members, Sir F. S. P. Leley, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. (lately Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces), Sir S. W. Edgerley, K.C.V.O., C.I.E. (member of the Council of the Governor of Bombay), Mr. R. C. Dutt, C.I.E. (Indian Civil Service, retired), Mr. W. S. Meyer, C.I.E. (Secretary to the Government of India,



Military Finance Branch), Mr. W. L. Hichens (lately Colonial Treasurer of the Transvaal).

The Chairman and Sir F. Lily will leave for India on November 3. It is expected that the inquiries of the Commission will be completed before the close of the Indian cold season.

In the same circular it is proposed that the Governor-General's Legislative Council should be composed as follows:

"1. The maximum strength of the Council might be 53, or, including the Viceroy, 54.

"2. This number might be made up thus :

"A. Ex-officio, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (or of the Punjab, when the Council assembles in Simla), the Commander-in-Chief, and the members of the Executive Council, 8.

"B. Additional officials to be nominated, not exceeding 20.

"C. A ruling chief to be nominated by the Viceroy, 1.

"D. Elected members—

"(a) By the Chambers of Commerce of Calcutta and Bombay, 2.

"(b) By the non-official members of the Provincial Councils of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, Eastern Bengal and Assam, the United Provinces, the Punjab, and Burma, 7.

"(c) By the nobles and the great landowners of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, Eastern Bengal and Assam, the United Provinces, the Punjab, and the Central Provinces, 7.

"(d) By Mohammedans, 2.

"E. Non-officials nominated by the Viceroy to represent minorities or special interests, not less than 2 to be Mohammedans, 4.

"F. Experts to be nominated by the Viceroy, when necessary, for special purposes, 2.

"Total, 53—or, including His Excellency the Viceroy, 54."

By an Act of Parliament passed on August 28 last it is provided that the Council of India shall consist of such number of members not less than ten, and not more than fourteen, as the Secretary of State may from time to time determine. That the members appointed shall be absent from India not more than five years, and that the salary shall be £1,000 instead of £1,200. The tenure of office shall be seven years instead of ten. And the Council of India Act of 1876, and the Council of India Reduction Act, 1889, are repealed.

Since the passing of this Act the following natives of India have been appointed members : Syed Husein Bilgrami and Mr. K. G. Gupta.

Owing to arms being smuggled into India through the French territory of Chandarnagor and Pondicherry, the British Government made strong representations to the French Government. The latter cordially assented, and promised to do their utmost to arrest this matter. A new Arms Act has been prepared, containing stringent regulations with regard to the purchase and possession of arms by French native subjects.

Tolls have been abolished for both cart and pedestrian traffic upon the following bridges, to take effect on the termination of the existing contracts : Dufferin Bridge, at Benares ; the Ganges Bridge, at Cawnpore ; and the Ranganga Bridge, at Moradabad.

The Secretary of State has sanctioned the commencement of work on the Upper Swat Canal. This is the project which includes the tunnel under the Malakand to carry water into the valley above Dargai.

Sir George S. Clarke, G.C.M.G., has been appointed Governor of Bombay in place of Lord Lamington, resigned.

General Sir Archibald Hunter's tenure of the command of the Southern Army has been extended to October 29, 1908.

New rules have been authorized regarding the pilgrimage to Mecca, the principal being that no persons shall embark

except at Bombay, that all ships shall be freed from rats, that ample hospital accommodation be provided, that ships shall be medically inspected at Aden and Perim, and that if plague break out the ship shall be sent to Perim and treated as an infected ship.

Mr. Diak, formerly Chief Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, will, on his return from furlough, take up the new appointment of Settlement Commissioner.

When Mr. Gordon Walker retires in November next he will be succeeded as Financial Commissioner of the Punjab by Mr. James Wilson, Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Revenue and Agriculture.

**NATIVE STATES.**—According to the annual Report, during the last two years the famine relief measures in the Baroda have proved very successful. During that period it cost the State about seven lacs of rupees. A reform in the levy of income-tax was introduced at the beginning of the current year, the minimum taxable income being raised from Rs. 300 to Rs. 750. There has been a great extension of the system of free and compulsory primary education from one taluka to the whole State, the rule adopted being that all boys between seven and twelve and all girls between seven and ten shall attend the schools and receive instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic in the first three standards. Over 2,000 Boards have been constituted under the Local Self-Government Act of 1904, and it is intended that a village school shall be established by each Board. Over 1,400 schools have already been started.

The Jath State, which since 1892 has been administered by the British Government, owing to the ruling chief having died and the son being a minor, has been again placed under its own chief, Kumar Shri Ramrao Aba Saheb Dace, who has come of age. The installation was made by Mr. Painter, the acting collector of Bijapore.

The representative Assembly of the State of Pudukotta

met on July 26. The Dewan, in the course of his address, reviewed the administration during the past year, from which it is evident that the State is recovering quickly from the adverse seasons which affected the revenue last year. The State is about to embark on a large scheme of free primary education. There are excellent prospects of the South Indian Railway being extended through Pudukotta shortly. The State is being administered by the Dewan during the absence of the Raja, who is in Europe on account of ill-health.

AFGHANISTAN.—The Ameer has made a tour through his dominions during the last two months. Sirdar Nasrullah Khan, younger brother of the Ameer has decided to proceed on a Haj to Mecca and Medina.

CEYLON.—Sir Henry M'Callum, the new Governor, assumed office on August 24. A large number of addresses to welcome him were presented by all sections of the population and by various institutions.

There are 150,000 acres of land devoted to rubber, an increase of 47,000 acres in one year.

SIAM.—The King of Siam paid a visit to England. His Majesty arrived in London on June 21. He was present at the Royal Garden Party, as the guest of King Edward, at Windsor on June 22, and made a round of visits in England and Scotland.

PERSIA.—A Turkish force crossed the Persian frontier and marched on Urumiah, shelling en route the Christian village of Mewan, destroying the church and killing upwards of 90 persons. Many Russians took refuge in the Consulate at Urumiah, where panic prevailed. In consequence of this outbreak, Prince Firman Firma was appointed Governor and sent to Tabriz. As a result of this invasion the Kurdish irregulars occupied the town of Suj Bulak. The United States Ambassador called the attention of the Porte to the possible danger to the American Missionaries established at Urumiah, urged the adoption of measures to prevent the extension of the trouble, and pointed out the

consequences that might ensue should any missionaries at Urumiah suffer as a result of the Kurdish invasion.

The Turks have established themselves in the districts they occupy, and are levying customs on the trade of those districts. The Turkish Commander has informed the Russian Vice-Consul at Urumiah that the refugees at the Consulate may return with safety to their villages if they accept Turkish sovereignty. He added that he had received no orders for withdrawal, but said that more troops were coming. Property to the value of £20,000 has been taken or destroyed. Firman Pasha has six battalions marching to Suj Bulak, and Uramiah.

The Persian Government has addressed a circular to its diplomatic representatives abroad, complaining of the atrocities committed by the Kurds in the disputed frontier district occupied by the Turks upon inoffensive Persian men, women, and children. The Porte has promised that stringent orders will be given to prevent such misdeeds in the future.

Nassir ul Mulk, Minister of Finance, has resigned. Sanieh-ed-Dauleh has resigned the Presidency of the Government.

Amin-es-Sultan, the Atabeg Azam, Premier and Minister of the Interior, was assassinated on August 31, on leaving the National Council.

An amended form of concession to the German Bank, with the clauses which have been regarded as inadmissible, and not granting any special rights or advantages, has been approved by Parliament. The capital is fixed at £200,000 and the concession is for a period of thirty years.

A new Cabinet of eight responsible Ministers has been formed, as follows; Mushir Sultanah, Minister of the Interior; Saad-ed-Dauleh, Minister for Foreign affairs; Mustaufi Mamalik, Minister of War; Kavam-ed-Dauleh, Minister of Finance; Mushir-el-Mulk, Minister of Justice; Muhandis Mamalik, Minister of Public Works. The Cabinet also includes Majd-el-Mulk, brother of the late

Amin-ed-Dauleh, whose office is not stated, and a Minister of Education, the choice of whom has not been decided.

CHINA.—All the opium dens in Canton have been closed without disturbance. There were rejoicings throughout the city, which was decorated, and processions and bands paraded the streets.

Yuan Shih-kai has been appointed a Grand Councillor, and President of the Wai-wu-pu (Foreign Office), where he takes the place of Lu Hai-huan, who is appointed Comptroller of Customs. Chang Chih-tung is also appointed a Grand Councillor.

MANCHURIA.—The new Chinese maritime Custom-house, similar to that at Kiao-Chau, was opened on July 1, at Dalny, in accordance with the agreement signed on May 30, between Sir Robert Hart and Mr. Hayashi, the Japanese Minister to China.

The following seven cities in Manchuria—viz., Fenghwangcheng, Liaoyang, Ninguta, Hunchun, Sanhsing, Hailar, and Aihun—have been opened to International trade, thus completing the total of sixteen cities to be opened up to trade as provided in the Chino-Japanese Treaty of 1905.

JAPAN.—The Russo-Japanese Convention, signed at St. Petersburg on July 20, contains the following two articles:

"Article 1.—Each of the two high contracting parties undertakes to respect the present territorial integrity of the other, as well as all rights accruing to one or the other of the high contracting parties from existing treaties, agreements, or conventions now in force between the high contracting parties and China, copies of which have been exchanged by the contracting Powers, so far as these rights are not incompatible with the principle of equal opportunity enunciated in the treaty signed at Portsmouth on September 5, 1905, and in the special conventions concluded between Japan and Russia.

"Article 2.—Both high contracting parties recognize the

independence and territorial integrity of the Empire of China, as well as the principle of equal opportunity in commerce and industry for all nations in the said Empire. They also pledge themselves to uphold the maintenance of the *status quo* and the respect of this principle with all peaceable means at their disposal."

The law, making it incumbent upon ships carrying emigrants to have official permits, which has hitherto been restricted to vessels destined for Hawaii or South American Ports, is now enforced in the case of ships bound for Canada. The law has been designed chiefly to assure the safety of the interests of emigrants.

The revenue for the last financial year exceeded the estimate by £3,000,000. There was also a residue after providing for Budgetary outlays; therefore the domestic loan of £8,000,000, for which provision was made in the Budget of the current year, would be dispensed with. The country's foreign commerce showed a growth of £6,000,000, as compared with the same period of last year.

KOREA.—The Emperor of Korea, Yi Keni, abdicated his throne on July 19. On July 20, his son succeeded him. On July 31 an Ordinance was promulgated disbanding the Korean troops. The men are granted one year's pay.

The provisions of the new Convention between Japan and Korea, which was signed at Seoul on July 25, are as follows:

1. The administration of Korea is placed under the secure guidance of the Japanese Resident-General.
2. The enactment of all laws and ordinances, and the transaction of important State affairs, shall receive the approval of the Resident-General.
3. The appointment of all responsible officials shall receive the approval of the Resident-General.
4. Only persons recommended by the Resident-General shall be eligible to office in the Korean Government.
5. A distinct line of demarcation is to be drawn between judicial and administrative affairs.

6. Foreigners are to be employed only with the consent of the Resident-General.

7. The first clause of the convention of August 22, 1904, providing for the employment of a financial adviser, is annulled.

Japan's policy in Korea will be directed mainly to the spread of education, the creation of an efficient judiciary, and reformed system of tax-collecting. Portfolios have not been given to Japanese, who only become vice-ministers, but the practical administration is wholly in Japan's hands.

**RUSSIA IN ASIA.**—The Anglo-Russian agreement, regarding the mutual relations and interests of the two powers in Asia, was signed in St. Petersburg on August 31, 1907. The terms of this agreement have not been published up to the time of going to press, but we will record them in our next issue.

**TRANSVAAL.**—A number of the Indians in the Transvaal have intimated to the Government that they will not accept the degrading conditions of registration imposed under the Asiatic Registration Act. The British-Indians in Johannesburg are openly defying this Act, and are supported by their compatriots in other Colonies.

In the Legislative Assembly in Pretoria, on August 19, General Botha moved a resolution for the purchase of the Cullinan Diamond for presentation to the King. The motion was carried by 42 votes to 19.

Lord Selbourne laid the foundation-stone of the Transvaal University College at Johannesburg on August 28.

**NATAL.**—Letters Patent of the Constitution were promulgated at Bloemfontein by Lord Selbourne, in the presence of the Governor, Sir H. J. Gould Adams, and the heads of the Administration, on July 1.

**ORANGE RIVER COLONY.**—The Imports for the year ending March 31 showed an increase of £200,000 as compared with 1905-1906, and the exports an increase of nearly £400,000. The revenue for the year ending



June 30 amounted to £789,500, and the expenditure to £779,210. The latter figure includes the colony's contribution of £120,250 to the expenses of the Inter-Colonial Council.

CAPE COLONY.—A deputation of the British Indian Association waited upon the Colonial Secretary at Cape Town on August 8, to draw the attention of the Government to the grievances arising out of the East London municipal regulations. Under these regulations Indians are ejected from the footpaths, are submitted to a curfew restriction, and are obliged to carry a certificate. The deputation also complained of the insistence upon ability to speak a European language in the case of would-be immigrants into the country, and suggested that Indians should be admitted, if they were capable of writing one of the four chief languages of India. A further complaint was made as to the difficulties of returning to South Africa after a visit to India. The Colonial Secretary promised to consider the points which had been raised.

The Treasurer, in introducing the Budget on August 12, said that the revenue had fallen in four years from £11,250,000 to £7,000,000. He stated the measures he proposed for stopping the deficit on railways, and intended to cover the general deficit by adding to the income-tax on incomes above £10,000.

The House of Assembly in Cape Town has passed the Government measure imposing a profit-tax of 10 per cent. on diamond and copper-mining companies earning above £50,000 per annum.

WEST COAST NIGERIA.—The construction of a railway in Nigeria has been sanctioned by the Home Government. It will be a 3 feet 6 inch gauge, starting from Baro, a place on the Niger, seventy miles from the coast, and its northern terminus is Kano, the capital of Hausaland, some 500 miles north. The proposed railway will cost about a million and a quarter pounds, spread over four years, will prove a great benefit to the people of Northern Nigeria, and will

open up a means by which the ever-increasing cotton crop can be transported to the coast for exportation.

**LIBERIA.**—The Honourable A. Barclay, the President of Liberia, accompanied by Mr. F. E. R. Johnson, State Secretary, as a deputation, waited on the Foreign and Colonial Offices. It has been decided to establish a Liberian Force of 400 men, under British officers, to police the regions bordering on the Sierra Leone frontier, which has been the scene of constant raids. They will also consult the authorities in Paris on the question of the Franco-Liberian boundary. Another question has been discussed with the British Government relating to the navigation of the Manoh River, which, according to the Anglo-Liberian Treaty of 1885, belongs to Great Britain. It is now sought to obtain a concession by which Liberia shall have the right to navigate the waterways for the purpose of trade on the Liberian bank.

**MOROCCO.**—In consequence of the capture of Kaid Sir Harry Maclean by Rasuli, and other questions resulting from it, including the attack on the Frenchmen working on the harbour at Casablanca by an armed party of Moors, it was agreed that France and Spain should combine together to send ships and troops to the scene of disquiet in order to enforce the Convention and maintain peace and order in the country, and to rescue Sir Harry Maclean. Several engagements have taken place, including battles at Casablanca, in which many have been killed.

At a meeting of the Ulema and the notables, held at Marakesh on August 24, Mulai Abdul Aziz, the Sultan of Morocco, was pronounced guilty of maladministration, and his dethronement was declared legal and necessary. The notables then proclaimed Mulai Hafid (his brother) his successor.

**EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE.**—Lieutenant-Colonel James Will, M.B., R.A.M.C. (Principal Medical Officer), has been appointed as Official Member of the Legislative Council of the East Africa Protectorate, and the Right Honourable

Lord Delamere and John Henry Wilson, Esq., have been appointed Unofficial Members.

NYASALAND (BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA PROTECTORATE).—The British Central Africa Protectorate has been changed to the Nyasaland Protectorate, and a Governor has been substituted in the place of a Commissioner, with an Executive Council and a Legislative Council, the two Councils to consist of nominated members, and the Governor having the right of veto over all Ordinances passed by them. Brigadier-General Sir William Manning will be Governor and Commander-in-Chief for the next six months, during the absence of Sir Alfred Sharpe. Returning from England, he will assume his post at Zomba on November 15.

AUSTRALIA: COMMONWEALTH.—After his Budget statement in the Federal House of Representatives on August 8, Sir W. Lyne introduced the amended tariff, which took effect from August 9. In a large proportion of instances the new tariff grants a preference on articles of British produce and manufacture, ranging between 5 and 10 per cent. of the total duty. There is also a strong determination to support the development of local manufactures.

Sir John Forrest has resigned his post as Federal Treasurer, and is succeeded by Sir W. Lyne, who in turn is succeeded as Minister of State for Trade and Customs by Mr. Chapman, the Postmaster-General. Mr. Samuel Manger becomes Postmaster-General.

The revenue for the year ending June last amounted to £12,831,618, showing an increase of £949,693 as compared with the previous year. The expenditure amounted to £4,987,301. The amount returned to the State was £7,845,890. The trade returns for the first half of 1907 show a combined expansion of the imports and exports. The imports of merchandise amounted to £22,994,598, as compared with £19,448,409 for the corresponding period of last year. The exports amounted to £28,291,348, as against £22,296,523 in the first six months of 1906.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The revenue for the year ending June 30 last amounted to £13,386,727, as compared with £12,283,082, showing an increase of £1,103,645 as compared with 1905-1906.

VICTORIA.—The revenue for the year ending June 30 last amounted to £8,308,337, being an increase of £504,421 as compared with 1905-1906.

TASMANIA.—The revenue for the year ended June 30 last amounted to £970,456, being an increase of £69,729 as compared with 1905-1906.

QUEENSLAND.—The revenue for the year ending June last amounted to £4,307,912, as compared with £3,853,522 in the previous year; and the expenditure amounted to £3,912,000, as compared with £3,726,000 in the previous year, leaving a surplus of £396,000, the largest in the history of the State.

Mr. Hawthorn has been appointed Home Secretary in place of Mr. Airey, who has been appointed a member of the Legislative Council.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—The revenue for the year ending June 30 last amounted to £3,194,610, being an increase of £388,599 as compared with 1905-1906. The official trade statistics for 1906 show that the imports amounted to £9,702,264, and the exports to £11,933,171, the highest figures on record.

NEW ZEALAND.—By a Royal Proclamation the colony, after September 26, shall be the "Dominion of New Zealand." The revenue for the past year exceeded £8,000,000, leaving a balance over the expenditure of £700,000. The Budget showed an increase in the land-tax, and numerous reductions in other taxes.

BARBADOS.—Lord Ian Gawaine Temple Blackwood (Assistant Colonial Secretary, Orange River Colony) has been appointed Colonial Secretary of the Island of Barbados.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—A *modus vivendi* in regard to the Newfoundland fishery question has been concluded with

the Government of the United States, whereby it is agreed that the fisheries shall be carried on during the present year, substantially as they were actually carried on for most of the time by mutual agreement under the *modus vivendi* of 1906.

CANADA.—The aggregate trade of Canada for the three months ending June last (exclusive of coin and bullion) was \$154,261,592, an increase of \$1,136,904 over the same period of 1906.

Strasburg, Saskatchewan, which has only been in existence two years, has been created a town.

The total value of manufactured products produced in the Dominion last year was \$715,035,965 (£143,007,193), as compared with \$481,053,375 (£96,210,675) in 1901.

The superstructure of the southern section of the bridge in course of construction over the St. Lawrence, nine miles above Quebec, suddenly collapsed on August 29. Some 800 feet of the steel structure fell into the river, carrying with it a large number of men who were at work. It is reported that seventy men have lost their lives. The financial loss may exceed £400,000. The main span of the bridge, when completed, will be 1,800 feet long, being 90 feet longer than the main span of the Forth Bridge in Scotland.

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The Colonial Office in London has hitherto been divided into four departments, but Lord Elgin has now reorganized the Office, which is to be divided into three departments—the first to be called the Dominion Department, dealing with the affairs of the self-governing Colonial Dominions, which will include also Protectorates; the second to be called the Colonial Department, dealing with the Crown Colonies only; and the third, a General Department, dealing with legal, financial, and other business. In this department there will be standing committees, taking a collective view of such matters as contracts and concessions, and also the question of patronage.

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*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during the past quarter of the following :

Edward Raban Cane Browne, C.S.I., late Accountant-General, India Office ;—Frederick Charles Mockler, Second Lieutenant 2nd Queen's Own Rajput Light Infantry ;—Major-General Sir John Crease, K.C.B., late Colonel-Commandant Royal Marine Artillery (China expedition 1857-59, North China expedition 1860, Ashanti 1873) ;—Colonel John Everard Whitting (Mutiny, Oudh campaign) ;—Charles Thomas Haig, Major-General Royal Engineers (retired), (Persian Expeditionary Force 1857, Indian Mutiny 1858-59) ;—Henry Hercules Hodd, E.E., East Indian Railway Company ;—Colonel William Middleton, late 17th Madras Native Infantry ;—Lieutenant Edmund Claude Elles, 2nd K.E.O. Goorkhas (China 1900, Naziristan expedition 1902-04) ;—W. Gilmour McCorkell, I.C.S., Bombay (retired) ;—Frederick Blake Pemberton, formerly of the Indian Civil Service ;—John Sparkes Sealy, J.P., Governor of the Gaol at Trivandrum, South India, and for many years in the service of the Raja of Travancore ;—Major-General John William Younghusband, C.S.I., J.P., of the Bombay Staff Corps (Indian Mutiny, Afghan campaign 1842, Sind campaign 1843, Punjab Frontier trouble from 1851-57) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Douglas A. Cunninghame-Graham, late of the 6th Dragoon Guards (Afghan war 1879-80) ;—H. H. Sir Bhawani Singh Bahadur, K.C.S.I., Maharaja of the Central India State of Datia ;—George Jamieson Scott of Calcutta ;—Colonel Sir Charles Edward Mansfield (Crimea, Cawnpore, Gwalior) ;—Theodore W. Hughes Hughes, late Geological Survey of India ;—Colonel G. S. Hawthorn, Indian Army (retired) ;—Sir Alexander John Arbuthnot, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., formerly Member of the Council of India ;—Major-General Sir Arthur Edward Augustus Ellis, G.C.V.O., C.S.I., Comptroller in the Lord Chamberlain's Department (Crimean war 1858-62, served in India as Aide-de-Camp to Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay) ;—Major-General William Lambert (Crimea, Indian Mutiny, Kaffir war, Zulu war) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel A. B. Strahan, late Indian Medical Service (Afghan war 1879-80, Burmese expedition 1886-89) ;—Brigadier-Surgeon Benjamin Lane (Burmese war 1852-53, Indian Mutiny 1858) ;—Major David Macbeth Moir, M.A., M.D., I.M.S., Professor of Anatomy in the Medical College, Calcutta (Chin-Lushai Expeditionary Force 1889-90) ;—Lieutenant-General R. Mallaby, Bombay Staff Corps (Afghan war 1880) ;—Captain Walter Hume (Crimea, Indian Mutiny) ;—F. Thumboo Chetty, C.I.E. (retired), officiating Dewan of Mysore ;—Colonel Herbert Manners (Burma campaign 1852-53) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel George William Smith (Ashanti war 1873-74, Afghan war 1878-80) ;—Major St. G. J. Rathborne (Afghan war 1879-80, Egyptian expedition of 1882, Soudan 1885-86) ;—Surgeon-General Charles Edward Kilkelly, F.R.C.S. (Indian Mutiny) ;—Surgeon-Colonel Edmund Greswold McDowell, C.B. (North China 1860, Egyptian war 1882, Soudan expedition 1884) ;—Major-General Henry Colebrook Lewes (Afghan war 1878-79) ;—Major-General George Elliot Ashburner, Deputy Judge-Advocate-General (Sind campaign 1843, and served with the Central India Field

Force 1856);—Major-General Reginald William Sartorius, v.c. (Indian Mutiny, Kossi, and Bhootan campaigns, Volta expedition 1874, Afghan campaigns 1879 and 1880);—Colonel Sir Charles E. Mansfield (Alma, Balacava, Sebastopol, Cawnpore, Gwalior, Consul-General at Warsaw 1865, in the United Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia 1876, Minister-Resident and Consul-General at Bagota 1878, three years later becoming Minister-Resident at Caracas);—Colonel C. W. H. Wilson (operations against Hill Tribes of Sikkim 1861, Hazara campaign 1863);—Lieutenant-Colonel F. L. B. Woodwright (Tirah expedition 1897-98);—Rupert John Airy Routh, I.C.S.;—Major Henry Dyke Marsh (Crimea, Sebastopol, Indian Mutiny, including the relief of Lucknow);—Charles Frederick Balfour, I.C.S., Deputy-Director of Land Records;—Maurice Herbert Stack, Assistant-Superintendent of Police at Meerut;—Major-General James Gordon, late Bombay Staff Corps;—Major Harry Frederick Whitchurch, v.c., I.M.S. (Lushai Expeditionary Force 1892, Chitral Fort 1895, North-West Frontier campaign 1897-98, Pekin Legations Relief expedition 1901);—Lieutenant-General Josias Gordon Cloete, late of the Madras Army;—Robert Henry Story, J.P., late of the Jhansi Commission, India;—Colonel Henry Charles Kemble, late 2nd Bengal Cavalry;—William Sullivan, of the Public Works Department, India;—Lieutenant-General F. W. Swinhoe, R.A. (campaign against the Beloochee Hill Tribes in Upper Sind 1844-45, Punjab campaign 1848-49, North-West Frontier 1852-53);—Colonel C. A. Goreham (Afghan war 1879-80, March on Cabul, Relief of Candahar);—Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Flintoff, D.S.O. (Afghan war, Boer war);—Major F. W. Fullerton, Indian Medical Service (Wazaristan expedition 1894-95, North-West Frontier 1897-98);—Mr. T. Vedadrisadasa Moodelliar, twenty-nine years in the service of the State of India as Judge, retiring in 1879;—Colonel the Hon. Montague Curzon (North-West Frontier campaign 1897);—Colonel Richard Lacy (Abyssinian campaign 1867-68, Afghan war 1879-80);—Pandit Bishambar Nath, Advocate of Allahabad, and late Member of the Viceroy's Council;—Lieutenant-Colonel H. J. J. Dyson, F.R.C.S., I.M.S.;—Colonel William Vertue, Indian Army;—Colonel G. L. K. Hewett, late Bengal Staff Corps;—Sir Alexander Wilson, Chairman of the Mercantile Bank of India.

*September 11, 1907.*







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